Universidade de Aveiro Departamento de Línguas e Culturas
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Desafios educativos enfrentados por imigrantes turcos em Londres

Educational Challenges Facing Turkish Immigrant Communities in London

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Dissertação apresentada à Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Línguas, Literaturas e Culturas (2º ciclo), realizada sob a orientação científica da Doutora Gillian Moreira, Professora Auxiliar do Departamento de Línguas e Culturas
da Universidade de Aveiro.

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presidente	Professor Doutor Anthony David Barker Professor Associado da Universidade de Aveiro
vogais	Professora Doutora Maria Cristina do nascimento Rodrigues Madeira Almeida de Sousa Gomes Professora Auxiliar da Universidade de Aveiro (arguente)
	Professora Doutora Gillian Grace Owen Moreira Professora Auxiliar da Universidade de Aveiro (orientadora).

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Palavras-chave

Imigração, multiculturalismo, segunda geração, os cipriotas turcos, curdos, turcos, insucesso, baixa expectativa, modelos

Resumo

Esta dissertação tem como objetivo explorar o que desafia a segunda geração de imigrantes turcos a enfrentarem o sistema de ensino do Reino Unido, principalmente em Londres, mistura multicultural. Ao abordar os imigrantes turcos, tem de se ter em mente que há três origens diferentes, ou seja cipriotas turcos, turcos da Turquia continental e curdos. Neste estudo, estes três tipos de imigrantes de segunda geração foram analisados e os seus problemas foram resolvidos, nomeadamente: insucesso, língua, baixas expectativas, o bullying, envolvimento com gangues, crise de identidade e questões parentais. As soluções foram propostas, a fim de enfrentar os desafios que os imigrantes turcos enfrentam no Reino Unido.

Keywords

Immigration, multiculturalism, second generation, Turkish Cypriots, Kurds, Turks, low expectation, underachievement, role models

Abstract

This dissertation aims to explore what challenges second generation Turkish immigrants face in the UK education system, specifically in London, which has a high multicultural mix. When addressing Turkish immigrants one has to keep in mind Turkish immigrants consist of three different origins namely Turkish Cypriots, Turkish immigrants from mainland Turkey and Kurdish Turkish immigrants. In this study, these three types of second generation immigrants have been analysed and their problems have been addressed, namely: underachievement, language, low expectations, bullying, gang involvement, identity crisis and parental issues. Solutions have been proposed in order to tackle the challenges that Turkish immigrants face in the UK.

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INTRODUCTION

One of the many effects of globalisation is the rapid increase in the flow of people between countries, as they are encouraged and sometimes forced to seek new lives in other countries. This can be for work, for shelter or merely for a different cultural experience. One of these countries is the United Kingdom, which has seen an increased level of immigration over the past fifty years. Immigration to the UK has reached never-before-seen levels, and, according to government statistics, UK net migration reached 252,000 in 2010, the highest on record (Office for National Statistics, 2010). This has led to common challenges faced by immigrants today: having to learn a foreign language, facing discrimination and being exposed to cultural shock, may contribute to a feeling of alienation in the host country.

These challenges have in turn put a big strain on the education system, both for the system itself and for those adapting to it. A recent study suggests that between "[...] 1998 to 2010, the proportion of children in primary schools in England for whom English was not their mother tongue nearly doubled to 16%, or over half a million out of 3.2 million children" (*migrationwatchuk.com*). This has raised undoubted challenges to the education system and to the pupils as well as their parents.

Immigrants are not always well integrated in society and sometimes they are accused of not exerting enough effort to assimilate in their host communities. The plight of second generation immigrants can also be difficult. As 'native' citizens, they are expected to be capable of adapting to the education system, but at the same time they are exposed to their parents' culture at home. This can lead to alienation, frustration and unrealistic expectations by the system on these second generation immigrants. At the same time, the globalised consumer culture of contemporary London bombards young people with cultural ideas, trying to prompt them to behave in a certain way, buy certain brands and follow certain trends.

Second generation Turks are not immune to these influences and consequently are sometimes faced by a clash of cultural ideals. At home, second generation Turkish youngsters are exposed to their parents' native culture which has been imported from their country of origin. On the other hand, these youngsters experience the host culture outside the home, mainly at school where they usually interact with other cultures. In addition to this, the influence of globalisation can have a negative effect on the aspirations and desired outcomes for second generation Turks. In school, concentration can be affected, adding to the existing difficulties the student faces, such as dealing with the language barrier.

The fate of Turkish speaking immigrants is close to my heart being a recent first generation Turkish migrant myself. I felt this was a valid study due to the lack of available similar studies especially in the context of the current economic downturn. The effects of this downturn range from the lack of employment opportunities and resources to integrate migrant populations, to media campaigns demonising migrants and portraying them as exploiters of the welfare system and trouble-makers. The topic is also relevant to my professional circumstances as I worked in a Turkish school where I witnessed the issues discussed in this dissertation on a regular basis. Moreover, I have seen the problems on a wider scale among the diverse migrant student population in a South London comprehensive school. From a pedagogical point of view, I was interested in examining how migrant populations integrate and adapt to the rigours of a foreign culture. I believe that this topic is academically appealing since it is applicable to the everyday life experience of Turkish speaking immigrants in the UK.

In addressing such an issue, the first question that must be posed is: Does the educational challenge faced by Turkish learners in the British system echo those of the wider immigrant community as a whole? In other words: Is it a Turkish problem or an immigrant problem? According to Sinagatullin (2003), the growth of racial, ethnic, and linguistic diversity, which immediately affects educational practices ranging from kindergartens to higher schools, has become a natural process in many societies. However, Turkish migrants come with their own set of challenges, some shared with other immigrant groups and some specific to their own experiences. Craft (1984) states that greater stress had been placed on the education system within the large urban centres of Britain, such as London. Therefore the strain of assimilation has been disproportionately placed in certain areas in particular some parts of North London, namely Harringey, Hackney and Enfield.

This dissertation aims to explore what challenges second generation Turkish student immigrants face in the British education system compared to the first generation, focusing on the multiculturally mixed area of North London. In this study there will also be comparison between Cypriot Turks, Turks and Kurds from Turkey and looking at the reasons why there are differences in terms of their achievements in educational outcomes. In addition, the study will identify and assess measures adopted by the British government with a view to helping immigrants overcome the difficulties they face in the education system. To do this, research will be carried out using various data collection methods such as analysing previous studies from books and journals, using government online data bases and studying previously done interviews as well as conducting our own face-to-face interviews with Turkish Cypriots and Turks living in London.

The dissertation is organised into five chapters. The Methodology is covered in Chapter One where I explain which methods and procedures I will be using throughout my dissertation in order to conduct my research. Chapter Two looks at statistics and written accounts to ascertain whether or not there is an existing problem facing first and second generation Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Turkish Kurdish immigrants and examines what problems there are and how these problems affect their academic prospects. As this study also aims to compare the three immigrant groups mentioned above, there will also be a clear identification of each distinct group in terms of their background and cultural differences. Every term and concept used throughout this study will be defined.

Chapter Three seeks to uncover the underlying causes of existing problems affecting the second generation of Turkish speaking immigrants compared to the first generation in terms of their educational attainment. This will be done mainly by looking at the issues highlighted above. The lack of mastery of the English language is one of these problems challenging the Turkish speaking immigrants in the UK. This disadvantage not only affects the academic achievement of the Turkish speaking communities but also makes them more vulnerable to bullying and being the victim of low expectations in the school.

The fourth Chapter provides an overview of what has been achieved so far to tackle the problems that first and second generation Turkish speaking immigrants face within the British education system. There are government schemes such as Ethnic Minority Achievement Departments which are aimed at helping immigrants who do not have English as their native language. In order to boost the educational attainment of the Turkish speaking communities, Turkish language schools have been opened around London.

Chapter Five examines the interviews I have conducted to gather authentic data from Turkish speaking migrants in London. In this chapter some voices from the Turkish community are heard providing accounts of their experiences in the British education system. Also in this chapter, an interview conducted in a Turkish school in North London will be presented and analysed in order to gain an insight into the challenges facing second generation Cypriot Turkish and Turkish immigrants.

In the final section, the conclusions present the findings of the study with regard to the educational challenge(s) that first and second generation of Turkish speakers experience. These findings help to shed light on some of the obstacles facing children in this situation and suggest possible solutions to the problems being faced.

Finally in the appendix, interviews used throughout this dissertation to inform our findings are presented.

CHAPTER ONE

OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This section, describes the aims and research questions of this study and the methodology adopted in order to find answers to these questions.

1.1 AIMS AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As outlined above, the main aim of this dissertation is to explore what challenges second generation Turkish student immigrants face in the British education system compared to the first generation, focusing on the culturally mixed area of North London. Other aims of this study are to identify and compare differences between Cypriot Turks, Turks and Kurds from Turkey and look at the reasons why there are differences in terms of their achievements in educational outcomes. Further, solutions introduced by government in order to improve the educational attainment of immigrant children will be assessed in relation to the communities under scrutiny. This study is based on the following research questions:

Q1) What are the challenges that first and second generation Turkish speaking immigrants face in terms of their educational attainment in the UK?
Q2) What are the underlying reasons behind educational challenges?
Q3) Are there any differences among Turkish speaking communities namely Turks from Turkey, Turkish Cypriots from Cyprus and Kurds from Turkey?
Q4) What measures have been introduced to address the difficulties of immigrant children in the education system?

1.2 RATIONALE FOR METHODOLOGY

In order to collect sufficient data, several case studies carried out on this subject will be analysed. Gerring (2007) states that if a focused case study is needed to provide insight into a broader phenomenon, then it must be representative of a broader set of cases. “The typical case

study exemplifies what is considered to be a typical set of values, given some general understanding of a phenomenon" (p. 91). In this dissertation, several case studies will be considered in order to represent the whole community of Turkish immigrants in North London. In the process of gathering and analysing data, cross-case technique is used to identify a typical case from a large population of potential cases. "If the casual relationship involves only a single independent variable [where] the relationship is quite strong, it may be possible to identify typical cases simply by eyeballing the evidence" (p. 93).

Every Turkish immigrant has their own story to tell about how they adapt to British culture and the education system and the particular challenges they have faced in order to survive and potentially thrive in the UK. Their experience can be found in books, in newspapers and in online documents. In this dissertation, besides these sources, several interviews were carried out one of which was with the co-founder of a Turkish School in North London.

The dissertation will also look into statistics and demographics related to first and second generation Turkish immigrants. When talking about statistics, this study will apply a meta-analysis research method, which is clearly defined by Glass (1976, p. 3) follows:

> Meta-analysis refers to the analysis of analyses. I use it to refer to the statistical analysis of a large collection of analysis results from individual studies for the purpose of integrating the findings. It connotes a rigorous alternative to the casual, narrative discussions of research studies which typify our attempts to make sense of the rapidly expanding research literature. The need for the meta-analysis of research is clear. The literature on dozens of topics in education is growing at an astounding rate.

Hence, meta-analysis enables us to compare various statistics that have previously been compiled on the same subject. For example, in Chapter Two, there will be several numerical tables where we will be able to clearly visualise the difference between Turks, Turkish Kurds and Turkish Cypriots' educational attainment. Similarly, to find how many Turkish speaking people live in London, we apply meta-analysis by checking the census.

In order to analyse the interviews undertaken throughout this dissertation content analysis is used to examine the data. As Berg (2001, p. 103) says "the most obvious way to analyze interview data is content analysis". Berg further explains the procedures of content analysis in the following terms:

> During the analysis phase of historical research, data are interpreted. The researcher will review the materials he or she has been so carefully collecting and evaluating.

> Data will be sorted and categorized into various topical themes. [...] This content analysis strategy will allow the researcher to identify patterns within and between sources. Additional sources may be required in order to further explain these patterns as they arise. Any research questions that are proposed will be explained, supported, or refuted only insofar as the data can successfully argue such positions. If the data are faulty, so too will the analysis be weak and unconvincing. (p. 219)

Similar to meta-analysis, content analysis also covers the process of looking at previously obtained information. On the other hand, content analysis is more about the contextual meaning rather than the statistical nature of it. Likewise, Saunders, *et al.* (2007) state that content analysis is a form of qualitative research due to its tendency to be used to analyse non-numerical data. Using a content analysis research method is therefore useful to constructing a contemporary picture of the challenges facing Turkish migrants in London today. Babbie (1998, cited in Berg, 2001, p. 258) points out that content analysis "[...] provides a means by which to study processes that occur over long periods of time or that may reflect trends in a society". In other words, previous studies by different authors compiled at different times, under a variety of focuses, can all be drawn upon to form part of the overall picture. For example, a study conducted in 1981 may seem less useful than analysis conducted more recently, but when combined, can offer a chronology of developments affecting the Turkish community adapting to the education system. Similarly, a study of Turkish Cypriot migration to the UK in the 1980s may appear to offer little relevance to Kurdish immigration a decade later, but, when analysed, may offer patterns and similarities of experience. Only by combining this apparently disparate information with original research can useful conclusions be reached.

Another advantage that is applicable to both meta-analysis and content analysis is that they are cost effective. One can easily carry out a content analysis by researching a library's catalogue, whereas undertaking a national survey might require enormous time and expense (Berg, 2001).

As for every pro, there are several limitations of this type of research method. Berg (2001, p. 259) declares that "the weakest point of content analysis is limited to examining already recorded messages". It is harder to challenge data and statistics than it is to challenge testimonies. Also, since it is text-based, it is more prone to have bias.

According to Woods (2006), the main methods employed in qualitative research are observation, interviews, and documentary analysis. There will be several interviews from which the data will be analysed to come to a conclusion. Although an interview has several disadvantages such as its potential for bias, subjectivity, its higher cost, and its time-consuming nature (McMillan & Schumacher, 1993), it does provide depth in detail and it gives an insight into the subject matter

by offering first hand original material. The quantitative research method, on the other hand, is famous for its objectivity. According to Bell (2005), quantitative data researchers collect facts and study the relationship of one set of facts to another which gives generalisable conclusions.

Acquiring data from Turkish speaking communities can sometimes be challenging because the individuals concerned might be suspicious about the motives and intent of the outside interest in them. As a result, in some interviews carried out by previous researchers, names and details of the interviewees have been kept secret. However, there is plentiful data to draw an overall picture of these neglected communities.

1.2.1 SETTING

In 2005, there were an estimated 200,000 Turkish-speaking people in the UK, most of them living in London (BBC, 2005). Hackney, Haringey, Palmers Green and Enfield are the areas of London where these Turkish speaking populations are concentrated. In this dissertation, interviews carried out in Haringey and Hackney in 2006 have been used. In Enfield, six original interviews were conducted in a Turkish school in 2012, one of which was with a co-founder of the school.

1.2.2 PARTICIPANTS

The data used in this dissertation were collected from first and second generation Turks, Turkish Kurds and Turkish Cypriots of varying ages and both genders. To be more specific, two in-depth interviews were consulted, which were carried out and reported by King *et al.* (2008). The interviewees were Turkish Cypriot Lale in her 50s who came to the UK as a school-leaver teenager, and Kurdish refugee Baran from Eastern Turkey, who arrived in the UK in the late 1990s (King *et al.*, 2008). In addition, six, first hand interviews – all original – were carried out by myself in a Turkish school with several Turkish teachers whose ages ranged from early to mid 30s.

1.2.3 MATERIALS AND INSTRUMENTS

The interview that was conducted in the Turkish school of North London with the co-founder of the school consists of 14 questions. The other interviews involve a variety of less in-depth questions. In order to collect more data, library resources and other documentary evidence as well as primary observation were used.

1.2.4 PROCEDURES FOR DATA COLLECTION

A series of suitable questions were planned in order to collect data. At the beginning of each interview, I briefly explained for what reasons I was conducting this interview so that my interviewees are well informed about what was expected from them. Afterwards, the participants were asked to answer the questions. These sit-down interviews were conducted at various times of the year and in different locations. Meanwhile, I typed up the answers of the interviewees. The interviews that have been transcribed are shown in the appendix section. In addition to this, library research was carried out and first hand informal observation of the main Turkish speaking communities was observed to gauge their attitudes towards British culture and education system.

1.2.5 PROCEDURES FOR DATA ANALYSIS

While analysing the data collected from various sources, notes were taken. Publications were used to clarify ideas and to back up initial assertions and predictions. During the interview process, a non-judgemental approach was taken. In other words, while conducting interviews, I ensured that I did not lead the interviewee on to provide a specific answer to my questions in order to reinforce the validity of the conclusions obtained through interpretation of the responses.

1.3 SUMMARY

In this chapter, the aims and the research questions of this study and the selected methodology have been presented, and the rationale for this methodology discussed In addition, the setting, subjects and participants in the study are described, and the materials, instruments, and procedures used for data collection and procedures for data analysis are outlined.

CHAPTER TWO

BACKGROUND TO TURKISH IMMIGRATION

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two will provide us with a background to the population in focus: second generation Turkish speaking immigrants in the UK (London). A content analysis method will be used to examine the statistics and written accounts on this subject. The Chapter will be prefaced by some essential theoretical notions related to immigration including a definition of terms and concepts used and a clear identification of the population that will be tackled.

The concepts that will be addressed are: immigration, assimilation, cultural inclusion, and social, racial and educational integration. Moreover, there will be some references to the motives which drive Turks, Turkish Cypriots and Turkish Kurds to come to London.

2.1 IS BRITAIN A WELCOMING COUNTRY FOR MIGRANTS?

The UK is a multicultural nation whose ethnic minorities, by and large, live together and with the larger community in harmony. Despite occasional serious riots, such as those in London in August 2011, in Brixton in April 1981 and in Bradford in July 2001, the different ethnicities which make up this multicultural nation have found a way to accept each other's cultural diversity since the dark days of racism and prejudice back in the 1960s, 70s and 80s. As Baginhole (2009, p. 7) suggests "Britain is many ways a fairer and more equal society than at any time in living memory, and many of us enjoy a lifestyle far richer and less restricted than ever". This is largely thanks to efforts made in the education system to improve cultural assimilation, which is defined as "[...] a general term for a process that can follow a number of different pathways. One form of assimilation is expressed in the metaphor of the 'melting pot', a process in which different groups come together and contribute in roughly equal amounts to create a common culture and a new, unique society" (Craft, 1984, p.44). Therefore, as Parekh (2000) states, a successfully assimilated society should become a shared body of customs, practices, habits, attitudes and collective memories.

Integration and assimilation share roughly the same meaning with features in common. Lucassen (2005, p. 18) says that integration is "[...] the general sociological mechanism that

describes the way in which all people, migrants as well as non-migrants, find their place in society". This ongoing process forces change within both communities which affects every aspect of life, such as the workplace, health care, and the education system. Inclusion is another term related to migration. De Florio-Hansen (2011, p. 10), describes inclusion as a way of accepting "[...] the different views and talents of migrants without prejudice or better, considering their contributions as a chance for proper positive changes".

Here it is necessary to give a description of what migration actually means. According to IOM[1] (2011) "migration is the movement of [people], either across an international border, or within a state. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes; it includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification". There are several types of migration that will be discussed in this dissertation, so; a clear distinction must be made between each migration type. One type of migration is economic. "An economic migrant is a person leaving his or her habitual place of residence to settle outside his or her country of origin in order to improve his or her quality of life. [...] It may equally be applied to persons leaving their country of origin for the purpose of employment" (IOM, 2011). Labour migration is another term related to economic migration. It can be defined as the movement of people from one country to another, or within their own home state, to find work (IOM, 2011). Refugees, on the other hand, are forced migrants who are outside the country of their nationality and are unable to "avail themselves of the protection of that country" because of "a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinions" (IOM, 2011). This form of movement can be described as a migration brought about under duress, either or both through a direct threat to life[2].

There are two main types of international migrations: short-term and long-term. The United Nations defines a short-term migrant as "[...] a person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least three months but less than a year (12 months) except in cases where the movement to that country is for purposes of recreation, holiday, visits to friends or relatives, business, medical treatment or religious pilgrimage" (Office for National Statistics, May 2013).

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[1] IOM International Organization for Migration was founded in 1951 after Second World War. Assist in meeting the growing operational challenges of migration management. Main duties of IOM's are to encourage social and economic development through migration, to uphold the human dignity and well-being of migrants.

[2] (Art. 1(A)(2), Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, Art. 1A(2), 1951 as modified by the 1967 Protocol)

On the other hand, a long-term international migrant can be described as "[a] person who moves to a country other than that of his or her usual residence for a period of at least a year, so that the country of destination effectively becomes his or her new country of usual residence. From the perspective of the country of departure the person will be long-term immigrant" (United Nations, cited in Home Office, 2007, p. 20). This type of migration can be for education reasons, for family reunification or for work purposes. Whatever the reason, the fact is, today, more people are more likely to move around the world than in the past. The International Organisation for Migration estimated that the total number of international migrants would have risen to 214 million people by 2010 (United Nations, 2009). As Appadurai (2003) comments "[m]ore people than ever before seem to imagine routinely the possibility that they or their children will live and work in places other than where they were born: this is the wellspring of the increased rates of migration at every level of social, national, and global life" (p. 6).

The UK, in particular, has been a target of large scale migration since the end of the Second World War. There are many reasons for this, for example the Windrush[3] generation from the West Indies were encouraged to come to the UK from the 1940s onwards to fill shortages in the labour market (Fryer, 1999). "The people of the Windrush, their children and grandchildren have played a vital role in creating a new concept of what it means to be British. To be British in the present day implies a person who might have their origins in Africa, the Caribbean, China, India, Greece, Turkey or anywhere else in the spectrum of nations" (Phillips, 2011). Since then, there have been continual waves of migration from different parts of the world; specifically, from Pakistan, India and Bangladesh as well as Eastern European countries, who entered the European Union, most notably Poland (Anwar, 1995). These migrations have come about both as a consequence of labour shortage (demand) and the relaxation of border controls allowing migrants greater freedom to migrate to the UK. This placed migrants in contradictory positions. On one hand, they came having been invited to fill an economic need, and therefore were largely welcomed (at least by businesses and the government). On the other hand, they were seen by some particularly right wing media, as taking advantage of opportunities which came about due to the relaxation of immigration laws especially in 2004 when several Eastern European countries joined the European Union.

[3] The Windrush arrivals to the UK can be traced back to the 1940s when many Afro-Caribbean people migrated to the UK in order to fill shortages in the labour market. June 22nd 1948, the day that the Empire Windrush passenger ship discharged its Caribbean passengers at Tilbury port near London, has become an important landmark in the history of modern Britain. The British national self-image has been thoroughly remodelled in a very short time.

These policies, much maligned in the right wing media and by politicians from the UKIP[4] in particular, have been defended by former British Prime Minister Tony Blair who was in charge during a time of unprecedented immigration. He declared that he did not regret relaxing controls for Eastern Europeans coming to the UK (2012, cited in Winnett, 2012, telegraph.co.uk). Prejudice against Eastern European migrants is often related to economic factors such as freedom of labour movement within the EU, which has allowed mass migration from these countries. Baginhole (2009, p. 217) points out that "[s]ince 2004, 683,000 Eastern Europeans have registered to work in the UK".

In contrast, migration of Turkish speaking people to the UK has sometimes resulted in cultural fear and prejudice which is mainly related to stereotypes and representations of Turkish in contrast to European people. "There is a belief in Europe that the values of Islam, as represented vicariously by the Turkish state and its people, are somehow incompatible with what is held by some to be a predominantly 'Christian' Europe" (Schaefer, Austin & Parker, 2005, p. 28). One British MP raised the following fears: "I could anticipate hundreds of thousands, if not more than one million, Turks heading our way. I am sure that the Turkish people are lovely people, but Britain is full up. We cannot cope with another mass wave of immigration" (Hollobone[5], 2010). When accused of being racist, he countered: "Not wanting hundreds of thousands of Turkish immigrants to the UK following Turkey's accession to the EU is not racist at all. Many people feel that the UK is already full up and would struggle to cope with another wave of mass immigration from wherever it might come" (Hollobone, 2010).

Disregarding whether or not Britain is a welcoming country, migrants still come to the UK in large numbers. There were an estimated 566,000 long-term international migrants who came to the UK in 2011 (Office for National Statistics, 2012). At a time when many countries in continental Europe has witnessed economic downturn and mass unemployment, the UK still has a thriving labour market, or at least, that is usually the outside image. "Britain [...] is relatively prosperous in world terms, so it is very attractive to immigrants" (Layton-Henry, 2004, cited in, Cornelius *et al*. (Ed.), 2004, p. 315). Hansen (2004, cited in, Cornelius *et al*. (Ed.), 2004, p. 340) suggests that the UK's rather "[...] buoyant economy and low unemployment serve as strong 'pull' factors". In addition to economic drivers, English, largely accepted as the world's "lingua franca" and a popular second language taught in many countries, is one of the factors promoting the UK as a desirable destination for some (Hansen, 2004, cited in, Cornelius *et al*. (Ed.), 2004, p. 340).

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[4] The United Kingdom Independence Party is a political party whose mission is to put an end to massive migration to the UK. Founded in 1993, UKIP has grown in popularity in recent years, taking 23% of wards in the May 2013 local elections; however, it has also come under fire from critics who accuse some members of the party of being 'closet racists' because of its anti-immigration platform.

[5] Phillip Hollobone is a Conservative Member of Parliament for Kettering.

Migrants usually choose London to settle, where the labour market is perceived to be more attractive. According to the overview of regional labour market statistics published in March 2013, the largest increase in the employment rate was for London which increased by 1.2 percentage points, while the West Midlands increased by 1.1 percentage points and Scotland by 0.7 percentage points (National Statistics, 2013). Moreover, Datta (2012, p. 12) asserts:

> London has historically served as a significant destination for migrants, such that by 2001, 42 per cent of those who had arrived in the UK had settled in the city. [...] The arrival of these migrants in London is not accidental but the result of a complex interplay of economic, social, political and financial processes that have generated not only economic migration but also mobility related to conflict and displacement.

London's cosmopolitan profile also acts as a magnet for migrants as well as for millions of tourists. The city houses many diaspora populations accommodating different cultures which had led it to be dubbed as the "world in one city" where 179 different national groups live with some 300 languages are spoken in its schools. (Vertovec, 2007, cited in Datta, 2012, p. 14). London has become such a multiethnic city teeming with different cultures that you can see one street packed with Middle Eastern restaurants while the next one with Eastern European supermarkets. All these elements contribute to the diversity of London allowing migrants to feel more connected to their home country.

2.2 WHY THE UK? CHARACTERISTICS OF TURKISH IMMIGRATION IN LONDON

According to the 2001 Census, 45 per cent of Britain's ethnic minority population live in London, where they comprise 29 per cent of all residents (www.statistics.gov.uk). London is considered to be a multi-cultural city where people from different religions and ethnicities live together. London's Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot communities form a 'noteworthy proportion' of the capital's minority ethnic population. The 2001 Census tells us that the ethnic Turkish population of the UK is 250,000, of which 120,000 are from Turkey and 130.000 from Cyprus. There are no accurate statistics for exact numbers of Turkish speaking people living in London and estimates vary from 135,000 to 200,000.

London's Turkish speakers live predominantly in the areas of Hackney, Haringey and Enfield which are situated in North London (Enneli, 2005). London is the obvious destination for these migrants given the economic opportunities available. "There is a concentration of Turkish

businesses in the Hackney area where around 10% of all businesses (approximately 340 Turkish-speaking businesses) in that borough are owned by the Turkish/Turkish Cypriot minority" (2003) [6]. This gives a ready-made market for new businesses to sell their products to. The fact that Turkish speakers are often based in the same areas also allows them to share knowledge, resources and experience.

In the following table, we can see that Turkish is the most spoken language in Hackney, after English.

Main language spoken

Language	% of Population in Hackney
English	75.9
Turkish	4.5
Polish	1.7
Spanish	1.5
French	1.4
Yiddish	1.3
Bengali	1.3
Portuguese	1.2
Gujarati	0.8
German	0.7

% Hackney resident population
Source, Census 2011

Table 1- Languages spoken in Hackney, 2011

Prominent success stories such as the supermarket chain TFC[7] which started from a single branch and now encompasses 14 stores across London naturally encourage Turkish migrants to the areas of London where there is a significant Turkish population.

2.2.1 TURKISH CYPRIOTS IN THE UK

Of the three Turkish speaking groups discussed the very first significant migration of ethnic Turks dates back to the 1940s from Cyprus (Düvell, 2010, p. *i*):

[6] London Chamber Information Centre September 2003.
[7] Turkish Food Centre is a chain of supermarkets supplying food and other products for Turkish speaking community and others. The first branch was founded in Edmonton (North London) in 1995).

> At that time Cyprus was a colony of the British Empire; residents of Cyprus were subjects to the crown and could freely move within the empire. Hence, the first Turkish immigrants to the UK were not Turkish nationals but Commonwealth citizens from Cyprus of ethnic Turkish background. In post-war times, they seem to have settled mostly in London and there in the North East. What is significant is that the UK is possibly the only northern European destination country which has some colonial past with Turkey, or to be more precise with localities that were settled by Turks. The beginning of Turkish migration to the UK is related to colonial and post-colonial settings which gave rise to a specific migration system. Thus, the origins of Turkish migration to the UK are unique compared with the migration to other European destinations.

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As a result of those colonial links, there was considerable immigration of Cypriot Turks to Britain in the years following the Second World War because of the widespread employment opportunities. Further immigration occurred through family links after mass immigration was curtailed after the 1962 Immigration Act. However, the bulk of migration of this group accelerated after the Greek invasion of the island in 1967 (Greece wanted the island to be a part of Greece), followed by a Turkish counter-offensive in 1974 (mainland Turkish government wanted to protect Turkish Cypriots and to make sure that they were safe), which saw Cyprus partitioned into north and south. At the time, 82% of the island's population was made up of Greek-Cypriots, whereas only 18% was Turkish Cypriots, but this did not stop the Turkish mainland government from invading Cyprus and making its native Greek population refugees in their own country (Athanasopulos, 2001, p. 14).

It is interesting that although the island is divided into two separate states, internationally it is considered to be one nation and one country – Cyprus; the people of Northern Cyprus are effectively invisible. In 1983, the Turkish-held area 'self declared'[8] itself as the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (Tocci, 2002, cited in McGarry and Keating, 2006). Hence, the status of Northern Cyprus as an independent state is recognised only by Turkey, which maintains around 30,000 troops in the north of the island (Cizre, 2008).

"The arrival of Turkish Cypriots has continued until today, making them the majority of Turkish immigrant workers or refugees, the latter particularly after the 1980 military coup in Turkey, is a relatively recent phenomenon" (Atay, 2012, p. 54). Turkish Cypriots' immigration history to Britain is the oldest of the three communities because of the longstanding colonial links. Thus, they tend to be the group that has integrated the most; they are the wealthiest and speak English better than their counterparts (Turks and Turkish Kurds).

[8] In 1983, Rauf Denktaş declared Northern part as an independent nation and he became the first president of the country.

In this sense, we can say that the issue of invisibility is similar to that of Turkish Kurds' position. However, there are significant differences between these two communities in terms of their cultural integration and educational attainment in the UK, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Three.

2.2.2 TURKS IN THE UK

Migration of Turks from mainland Turkey to the UK has been relatively small compared to that of Turkish Cypriots. "The expanding European economy during the boom years of the 1950s and 1960s needed a workforce from other countries. It was Germany [...] up until 1990, who received the first legal workers from Turkey" (Issa, 1987, cited in Issa, 2005, p. 8). By contrast to Turkish Cypriots, mainland Turks only started to arrive in Britain "[...] in the mid 1960s, as a small number, comprised of students, professionals and migrants on the work permit scheme. [...] The military coup in 1980 lead to an increased politically and economically motivated migration to Britain, mainly undocumented" (Dokur-Gryskiewicz, 1979 cited in Erel, 2009, p. 30). Migration was more random and less centrally organised. One of the consequences of this disorganised migration was the congregating of populations in concentrated areas such as North London (Safi, 2012).

Turkish migrants come for better living conditions, finding well-paid jobs and also to give their children a better life. Britain is also seen as an increasingly attractive destination for migration since it is regarded as a more tolerant and less racist society than other European countries such as Germany. "While 'Turks' are often viewed as the most distant ethnic group in Germany"[9], in Britain, they are ambiguously positioned as "invisible ethnic minorities"[10]. As a result, "[...] ethnically specific anti-'Turkish' racist public discourses are barely articulated in Britain" (Erel, 2009, p. 31).

Another reason for Turkish immigration stemmed from the Ankara Agreement, which was signed in 1963 between the EU and Turkey. It allowed Turkish businessmen to migrate to Europe, where they could start their own company (Mai & Keles 2008, p. 10). Thanks to this agreement Turkish migrants have the chance to work as self-employed business persons and this can then lead to an indefinite leave to remain in the UK and then to British citizenship as long as applicants meet the eligibility criteria (Home Office, May, 2011). Of the three groups, Turks are the only migrants to come from a universally recognised state.

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[9] Finkelstrein, 2006; Mandel, 2008; Wilpert, 1993 cited in Erel, 2009, p. 31
[10] Holgate et al., 2008 cited in Erel 2009, p. 31

2.2.3 TURKISH KURDS IN THE UK

Kurdish migration from Turkey became a phenomenon in the 1980s and 1990s, coinciding with the Kurdish uprising when the conflict began between the PKK (Kurdistan Workers Party) and the Turkish Government in 1984 (Safi, 2012). The majority of Turkish Kurds came to Britain for political as well as economic reasons. "The first Kurdish refugees came in small numbers in 1958" (Dick, 2002, cited in Issa, 2005, p. 9).

In Turkey, Kurds did not officially exist as a distinct ethnic group. Even the word Kurd was banned and instead they were referred to as mountain Turks. Their culture and language were suppressed as part of state policy (Bruinessen, 2000). They were also encouraged to leave their Eastern Anatolian heartlands and move to cities in the hope that they would become more "Turkish" and less parochial. "The process of displacement to the cities which Turkey hoped would assimilate Kurds often resulted in the 'rediscovery of roots', although it is clear that increasing integration of Kurds in Istanbul for example, also occurred on a large scale" (Kirisci & Winlow, 1997, p. 136, cited in Griffiths, 1999, p. 86). These migrants were coming to Britain as refugees at the worst possible time when Britain was full up with Eastern European migrant workers and there were already prejudices against migrants in the UK.

The start of the 2000s saw a striking growth in the numbers of immigrants to the UK, some of whom were also seeking refuge from conflict in other parts of the world (Balikci & Wells, 2011). Kurdish refugees from mainland Turkey formed one of those groups. Many of them came to Britain to start a new life in a comparatively secure and stable country which, at the time, was able to absorb migrant groups and their families owing to a period of high economic activity and wealth generation. However, as Balikci and Wells (2011, p. 42) point out "a downturn in economic activity and resultant rises in unemployment, particularly in the current economic crisis and credit crunch, puts settled migrant communities at greater risk of marginalisation". The Kurds were no less vulnerable than any other immigrant, and have consequently felt its effects.

The UK was undergoing a period of recession and the economy was changing from heavy industry to a skilled sector. This climate often led to migrants being subjected to racism and other kinds of prejudice. There were a limited number of resources to go around, and migrant groups, such as the Kurds, were seen by some as unwelcome guests. Yet in government and political circles, their status as a refugee population was recognised and they received strong support, encouraging more to come. At least life in the UK was seen as preferable to life in Turkey for them. Issa (2005, p. 9) states that:

> The [...] bulk of Kurdish migration began with a first wave in the 1980s because of the military coup in Turkey, and by late in the decade it had increased because of persecution by Sunni fundamentalist in Alevi dominated areas (McDowall, 1989; Collinson, 1990; Reilly, 1991). The Kurds immigrated to the UK in three phases. The first was between 1987 and Spring 1988, during which time they overtook the Tamils as the principal asylum applicants in the UK. [...] The second period covers May 1989 until imposition of visas on 23rd June 1989, when entry was seen as an attempt to beat the enforcement of visa restrictions that would follow (Collinson, 1990, p. 29 cited in Issa, 2005, p. 9). The third migration was marked by the imposition of the visa requirements as well as the ascendancy of PKK affiliated organisations during the early part of the 1990s.

The Kurds see themselves as a separate ethnic group based on their own language, culture and territory, which is not recognised by the Turkish state (Sackmann, Peters, Faist, (eds), 2003). This creates particular difficulties when they come to demand equal recognition as Turks in their host countries. Legally Turkish Kurds are placed in the same category as Turkish migrants, that is, belonging to the Turkish state. The consequence is that they cannot receive distinct resources apart from those allocated to the Turkish community as a whole, such as EAL[11] assistance and other benefits. It also risks further alienating a group that came to countries such as Britain to seek a better life. As Griffiths (1999, p. 88) states:

> The perception of being underestimated as a whole culture and as a distinct nation is commonplace amongst many Kurds and is reinforced and reproduced across a range of social practices and institutional settings in the local settlement context. While processes of social exclusion and marginalisation may be significant in the case of the Kurds in many respects these are outweighed by the continuing struggle for national independence at home.

At a governmental and local level, this issue is not easy to resolve. Any government recognising this minority as a national entity risks incurring the wrath of the Turkish state, which could have consequences on trade deals and cooperation on terrorism. Recognition at a lower level, such as local authority, risks causing social upheaval in the communities in question. This is the climate in which Turkish Kurds must cope for the time being.

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[11] EAL refers to English as an additional language. Many pupils in English schools regularly speak a language other than English. Therefore, schools provide additional support for those children and assess the early progress pupils make in learning English as an additional language in such a way as to ensure that pupils' attainment is appropriately linked to their full national curriculum entitlement. (National Curriculum, 2000, p. 5)

2.3 TURKISH SPEAKING GROUPS OF LONDON

Below, Table 2 shows London residents by country of birth outside the UK (2001) and Table 3 shows estimated speakers of top languages in London (2000). Studying both tables, one can see that there is a significant difference between the number of Turks and the number of Turkish speakers. This is mainly due to the fact that Turkish Cypriots and Kurdish people who speak Turkish are considered to come from a different ethnicity whereas Turkish people emigrating from Turkey are the only Turks considered to have Turkish ethnic origin. This characterisation underestimates and ignores the ethnicities which make up the Turkish speaking community living in London. Moreover, the Greater London Authority (2009) claims that there is a shortage of official sources of statistics on Turkish, Kurdish and Turkish Cypriot communities in the UK as they tend to be included under broad ethnic group categories.

Rank	Country	Population
1	India	172,162
2	Ireland	157,285
3	Bangladesh	84,565
4	Jamaica	80,319
5	Nigeria	68,907
6	Pakistan	66,658
7	Kenya	66,311
8	Sri Lanka	49,932
9	Ghana	46,513
10	Cyprus	45,888
11	South Africa	45,506
12	USA	44,602
13	Australia	41,488
14	Germany	39,818
15	Turkey	39,128
16	Italy	38,694
17	France	38,130
18	Somalia	33,831
19	Uganda	32,082
20	New Zealand	27,494

Table 2 London residents by country of birth outside the UK, 2001. Source: GLA (2005)

Rank	Languages	Number
1	English	5,636,500
2	Punjabi	155,700
3	Gujerati	149,600
4	Hindi/Urdu	136,500
5	Bengali/Sylheti	136,300
6	Turkish	73,900
7	Arabic	53,900
8	English Creole	50,700
9	Cantonese	47,900
10	Yoruba	47,600
11	Greek	31,100
12	Portuguese	29,400
13	French	27,600
14	Akan (Twi and Fante)	27,500
15	Spanish	26,700
16	Somali	22,350
17	Tamil	19,200
18	Vietnamese	16,800
19	Farsi	16,200
20	Italian	12,300

Table 3 Estimated speakers of top languages in London, 2000. Source: Storkey (2000)

Although distinct cultural groups in their own right, these groups have sometimes inter-married (Mehmet Ali, 2001). They also tend to work and live in the same areas of London. Interestingly, there are even reports that some Turkish gangs contain Kurds, and vice versa. The concentration of migrant populations in certain areas can create segregation between them and the rest of the host population as well as other migrants. It is not surprising that some Turkish or

Kurdish people would feel like they were in Turkey. For example, a young Kurdish taxi driver says that he does not feel he is in Britain when he is in North London, he feels in Britain only when he leaves North London and visits other places. In North London, Turkish people have everything they might expect to find in Turkey, apart from some family members (Küçükcan & Güngör, 2009).

In reality, the Turkish speaking population of London is among the most self-contained group in the city. Having their own shops, supermarkets, community centres, local community-based newspapers and even their own schools as will be discussed later on, some parts of North London can almost be seen as a 'Little Turkey' in themselves (Enneli *et al.*, 2005).

The reason why there are so many Turkish people living in North London is largely attributed to the fact that accommodation is more affordable than other parts of London, community structures already exist in those areas, families are there already, so they are following the previous ones and making little ghettos. Mehmet Ali (1985) claims that Turkish speaking communities in the UK are an invisible minority on account of the fact that they are quite self-reliant especially in the areas of Hackney, Newington Green, Haringey and Tottenham, where niche economies have been constructed by the Turkish-speaking communities. Turkish speaking migrants are less likely to experience the language barrier as much as they might in other parts of London. Under the circumstances, there is less chance of Turkish speaking migrants feeling isolated. On the contrary they would feel at home. They would create ghettos which are considered to be a bad thing as the Turkish community would not be able to assimilate fully into the British society. A Turkish father expresses his thoughts about why Turks choose North London (Strand, *et al.*, 2010, p. 141/2).

> It is also a geographical issue. Hackney, Haringey, Finsbury Park, Manor House, Newton Green, certain areas where there's lots of concentration of Turks, Turkish Cypriots and other communities. These are areas where people go because they are comfortable with the communities. But these are not good areas. The schools are probably not as good as in more affluent areas. There is a lot of crime but also because these are new communities that are poor, all services are a bit stretched. They can't cope.

Their strong sense of community and social wellbeing often hide greater suffering experienced by most Turkish workers. "[T]he majority of the Turkish Speaking Communities are trapped within the ethnic economy constraints of the catering industry including restaurants, cafes, supermarkets [and] wholesalers" (Mehmet Ali, 2006, p. 8). One might expect that supporting each other brings good to everyone but this can also cause exploitation of workers who are desperate to work to survive; especially workers who actually do not hold a work permit. Erdemir and Vasta (2007) point out that Turks would like to see themselves as providers who were once being

provided for, whereas the reality is more likely that they have once been exploited and now they have become exploiters.

2.4 WHERE DO TURKISH SPEAKERS STAND IN THE UK?

Turks have often been subjected to racial conflicts with the native white population of Britain; however, there is also an internal conflict relating to the concept of ethnic identity. Enneli, Modood and Bradley (2005, ix) assert that:

> [...] Turks do not occupy a clear position in the white/non-white divide on which current understanding of 'ethnic minorities' is based. In the 1991 census, Turks, coming from the outer-edge of Europe, identified themselves as 'white'. Yet, Turkey is widely perceived in Britain to be a Third World, non-white country and Turks experience racial discrimination. By most measures of cultural difference, Turks are in a similar position to many non-white groups and in socio-economic terms are also more disadvantaged.

Ethnicity has always been a complicated issue in Turkish society. The education system in Turkey has, since the early days of the Turkish Republic, promoted the idea of a single national ethnicity. The aim of this was to encourage unity and a joint sense of purpose and origin. This included one language 'Turkish' and one religion 'Islam'. The problem was, and still is, that modern Turkey is made up of several different ethnicities, such as Kurds, Armenians, Greeks, Arabs, Central Asians and Eastern European Muslims. This can create an identity crisis for Turks, including second generation immigrants. It seems that many Turkish parents have the mindset of their native country whereas their children may have adopted the culture of Britain. White (2010, p. 7) argues:

> [...] Turks have multiple words for being a Turk, each with minutely differentiated ideological characteristics, ancestral voices, genealogies, narratives of threat and redemption, and discursive scripts [...] The term "Turkish citizen" is used when referring to non-Muslim citizens who in the hegemonic national scenario cannot be Turks. Further complicating the study of Turkish national identity is Turkey's claim to exceptionalism, the idea that Turkishness is unique and different from, and some claim prior to, any other national or cultural identity.

In the middle of this identity crisis, native Turkish speaking parents who bring their Turkish culture from their homeland can influence their children's self perception. Yet greater waves of

migration, economic strains brought about due to the global financial downturn have created a dangerous cocktail which could further hinder the educational chances Turks face.

	Born in Britain %	Before 10 years old %	10–15 %	After 15 years old %	N %
Turk	**36**	**24**	**22**	**19**	**97**
Kurd	**3**	**43**	**32**	**22**	**68**
Cypriot	**66**	**9**	**15**	**9**	**53**
Mixed	**48**	**28**	**14**	**10**	**29**
Total	**35**	**26**	**22**	**17**	**247**

Table 4 Arrival Britain by ethnicity

(Enneli *et al*., 2005) Data missing in three cases

As seen from the table, Cypriots are generally the group that has been in Britain the longest, followed by Turks and lastly Turkish Kurds. Tellingly, these percentages also correspond with their economic and social positions in society affecting the extent of their schooling in Britain and facility in the English language (Enneli, *et al.*, 2005). Kurds also represent the highest percentage of those arriving after the age of 15. This is bound to affect educational attainment, as almost a quarter of Kurdish immigrants are arriving at the age where students are studying for GCSEs. Conversely, and confirming the pattern of immigration between the group, only 9 per cent of Cypriots arrived after the age of 15. This reinforces the idea that the most integrated (and successful) group is the one that has been in the UK longest. However, it would be simplistic to attribute the comparative success of the Cypriot Turks to the length of time spent in the UK alone. They have different set of advantages over the other migrant groups.

CHAPTER THREE

CHALLENGES FACED BY THE TURKISH SPEAKING COMMUNITY OF LONDON AND THEIR EFFECTS ON SECOND GENERATION TURKISH IMMIGRANTS

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Chapter Three will ascertain what challenges face second generation Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Turkish Kurdish immigrants and examines what problems there are and how these problems affect their academic prospects. This chapter will also uncover the underlying causes of existing problems affecting the second generation of Turkish speaking immigrants compared to the first generation in terms of their educational attainment. This will be carried out by looking at the issues highlighted above. One of the problems facing Turkish speaking immigrants in the UK is the challenge of mastering English. Struggling to gain fluency in English not only affects the academic achievement of Turkish speaking second generation pupils negatively, but also makes them more vulnerable to bullying and being the victim of low expectations in school. There are other factors concerning the academic achievement of Turkish migrants' children, namely: identity crisis, religion, gang involvement, 'honour killing', parenting issues and fear of Turks.

3.1 UNDERACHIEVEMENT IN THE BRITISH EDUCATION SYSTEM

"The Turkish and Kurdish communities are amongst Britain's smaller ethnic minority groups and there is very little research evidence on how they are adapting to their lives in Britain" claims EMTAS[12] (2008). However, several surveys, case studies and research have recently been carried out in order to find out more about this ethnic minority group and to address their needs since local authorities as well as educational staff have raised concerns about educational underachievement of children from the Turkish speaking communities (Mehmet Ali, 2006). In 2003, only 30 per cent of Turkish/Turkish Cypriot pupils attained five or more GCSEs at grades A* to C, compared with an average of 51 per cent of all pupils.

[12] The Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service (EMTAS) aims to raise the achievement of and equality of outcome for minority ethnic and traveller children and young people in schools and communities.

The problem is more nuanced, however, with a clear distinction between the outcomes of Turkish Cypriots, Turks and Turkish Kurds. Although the three groups share some challenges, such as problems with literacy, the position of women, difficulty settling in the beginning, gang involvement and deprivation, it must be recognised that each faces similar and separate problems unique to each pattern of settlement in London, and these are important in the context of educational achievement.

Despite many government initiatives to improve the educational success of Turkish speaking young people, they are still one of the lowest achievers in the community. Recent research shows that "[a]dults born in Turkey and Northern Cyprus were less likely than the general population to hold higher-level qualifications and far more likely to have no recognised qualifications. Those born in Iran, Iraq and Syria, on the other hand, were much more likely to hold higher-level qualifications" (Greater London Authority, 2009). The same source tells us that Turkish and Turkish Cypriot children are less likely to achieve in the British education system than their British counterparts.

3.1.1 LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

Having poor English skills is one of the reasons which contributes to the educational underachievement of Turkish speaking children. The first generation of UK born Turkish speakers and recent migrants are often fluent only in Turkish, which can pose difficulties when it comes to accessing public services and education (Change Institute, 2009). On the other hand, second and third generation Turkish speakers in the UK are more capable in English and less competent in Turkish (Issa, 2004). However, for the second generation, being able to speak English does not necessarily mean that they will receive the benefits of being a native speaker. Their parents, who might lack English language skills are often unable to help their children where necessary; for example, providing reading assistance, helping with homework or choosing schools (Mehmet Ali, 2001). When it comes to language, there is a clear distinction between the success of the three Turkish migrant groups discussed. As an example, Turkish Cypriots are usually the ones who master the English language and therefore are the most successfully assimilated community into British society.

The island of Cyprus, being a former protectorate of the UK, has long been exposed to the British language and culture. As Atay (2010, p. 124) asserts:

> Due to their much longer presence in Britain and to their familiarity with English culture through their colonial experience in Cyprus, Turkish Cypriots have accommodated to London life much better than the later immigrants from Turkey. [...]. Since most of the first generation Turkish and Kurdish immigrants are not proficient in English and they still are not adapted to British culture, they depend on these Cypriots to assist them in sorting out their problems and many areas of life in England in general. Thus, the Cypriots who are doctors, dentists, accountants, lawyers, solicitors, barristers, etc., are the ones to whom the Turks and Kurds seek out to deal with the difficulties they encounter. For the Turkish Cypriots, these people are considered a circle of 'customers' exclusive to them.

The relative success of Turkish Cypriots in British schools can, in part, be attributed to this colonial relationship between Cyprus and Britain. These experiences, however, are generally not shared by Turks and Kurds, who often know very little about Britain before they arrive, not least knowledge of the language. Therefore Kurdish and Turkish children tend to experience significant problems adapting to the UK education system. In fact, statistics show that, "[...] even in countries where instruction of the official language is compulsory, students from linguistic minorities are less successful than native speakers" (Grubb, 1974, cited in Kuzu, 2010, p. 54). Grubb implies that the reason for this discrepancy is that there is usually no additional programme to help minority pupils when they face the official language for the first time in school. Although there are support programmes such as English as an additional language (EAL) and ethnic minority achievement (EMA) which boost migrant pupils' English literacy skills, migrant pupils do not always benefit from these. Teachers usually consider EAL support as a special education need and therefore they tend to withdraw Turkish speaking pupils from the classroom to teach them English rather than keeping them in class and supporting them during mainstream lessons. "This outside intervention may lead these pupils to be insufficiently challenged in their learning" (Issa, Allen & Ross, 2008, p. 16). Since these pupils are either unable to understand the questions in English or they know the answer but they cannot express it in English they are placed in a lower set of classes.

In 2003, Hackney Council and the Learning Trust[13] carried out an investigation looking at why Turkish speaking boys (Turkish Kurds are also included under this category) underachieve in school. Considering nine per cent of Hackney's pupils are of Turkish origin and three percent of Kurdish origin, this study revealed invaluable facts and figures about the representation of Turkish students in the context of educational attainment. In this study, the information was gathered from the Learning Trust, expert witnesses, the local community, teachers, and the pupils themselves. Three schools in the area were visited by Councillors from Hackney. They found that a major cause of this underachievement was a relatively low rate of English language acquisition.

[13] Hackney Learning Trust is a department within Hackney Council's Children & Young People's Service and is responsible for Hackney's children's centres, schools and early years and adult education. Retrieved from http://www.learningtrust.co.uk /about_us/ on 29th May 2013.

> There is clear evidence that language skills amongst Turkish speaking pupils develop at a much slower rate than other ethnic groups with English as a second language. Low literacy levels are also leading to Turkish speaking pupils being significantly less advanced in the English language, right up to the point of GCSEs. [...] Pupils of Turkish origin are making greater progress to the higher stages of fluency than those pupils of Kurdish origin. A clear element of any programme addressing the needs of Turkish speaking pupils has to be English language fluency, which must recognise the differences between the levels of Turkish and Kurdish pupils.[14]

From this example, we can see that Kurdish pupils are the worst scoring of the three Turkish speaking groups under discussion in this dissertation. The reasons for this can largely be attributed to the socio-economic condition of the pupils' parents. This will be looked at in a later section when we examine the economic challenges of the Turkish speaking community.

A more recent study from Essex schools which have been collecting and analysing data about the pupils of Turkish background underachieving across all key stages found similar problems to those found in Hackney schools.

> In the 2008 school census 16,460 pupils were identified as speaking Turkish in English schools and 3,740 pupils were identified as speaking Kurdish. In Essex there were 222 pupils speaking Turkish as their first/home language and Turkish was the sixth most commonly spoken language in the county after English. [...]. The majority of Turkish speaking children in Essex schools do not have literacy skills in the language and several children will respond to parents' questions in a mixture of Turkish and English even where they are not yet fluent in English. We have a few Turkish families in Essex who have arrived in England via another European country (e.g. Germany, Bulgaria) It is not therefore unusual for children to come to Essex schools speaking German or Dutch as their first language and Turkish as their second language (or vice versa).[15]

These two reports share a common theme: the comparatively low level of literacy of Turkish speaking pupils. The fact that these pupils are not fluent in English affects their educational attainment, and as a result, teachers of second generation Turkish students have raised concerns. The following comment is from a teacher at a North London secondary school (Issa, Allen & Ross, 2008, p. 14).

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[14] Source: Underachievement of Turkish speaking boys. Retrieved from http://apps.hackney.gov.uk/servapps/reports/s_ViewRptDoc.aspx?id=1254 on 29th May 2013.

[15] Source: An electronic toolkit for teachers of Turkish and Turkish Cypriot pupils. Retrieved from http://secure.essexcc.gov.uk/vip8/si/esi/content/binaries/documents/Service_Areas/Pupil_Support/Documentation/Turkish_Pupils_Toolkit.doc on 29th May 2013.

> Most that are born here, they can't write or read a letter in English, but they can't do it in Turkish either…It's really sad, if they stayed in Turkey they would definitely be able to write a letter in Turkish but they are coming here, their parents think that their children will get a good education here, good opportunities here, but in fact it is very sad they are not getting enough education here.

Another secondary school teacher from North London highlights the language barrier (Issa, Allen & Ross, 2008, p. 15):

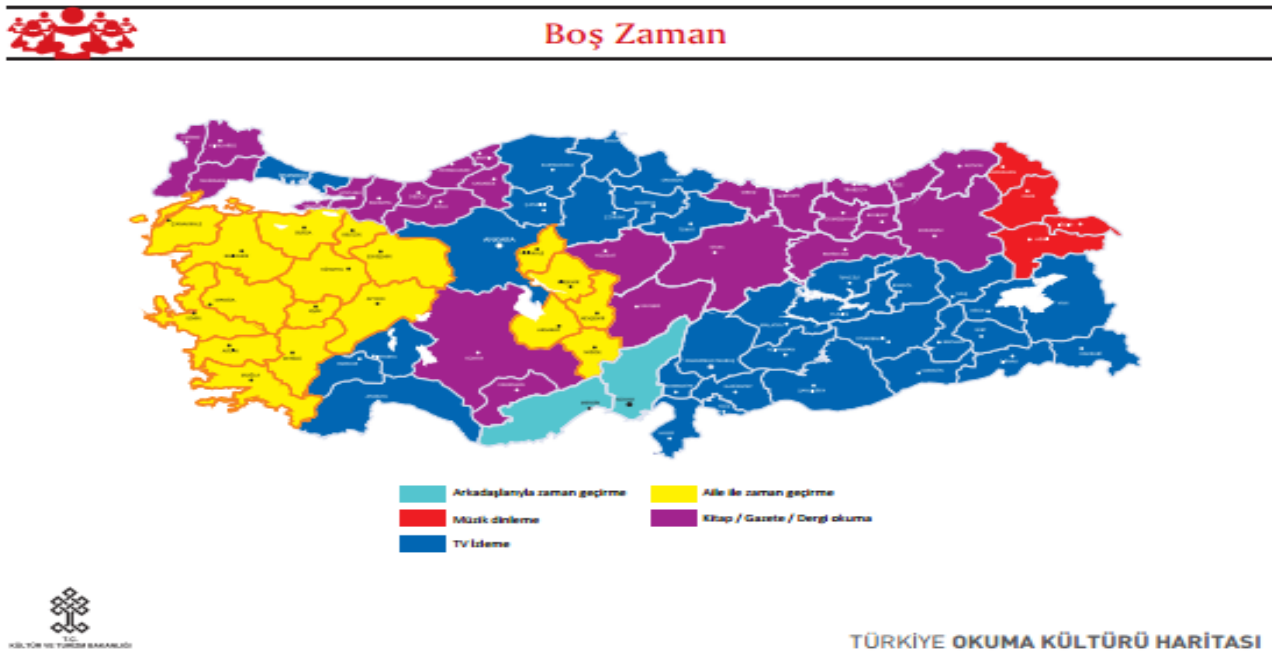
> [...] Most of the Turkish-speaking students are not confident about their English, but because they are not literate about their Turkish as well they are not confident to express themselves in Turkish either. They have a language barrier on both sides so they can't put one language to another… for example, I see it in my class, if they are literate definitely in Turkish, and educated in Turkey, first they are struggling but after that they can get over that barrier and integrate. So language is a barrier on both sides: they are not literate in English they are not literate in Turkish as well.

For Kurdish pupils, the struggle with language is often magnified as their native tongue (Kurdish) is not a recognised language in the British education system or in Turkey. There is no such thing as a Kurdish GCSE, available to Kurdish speaking students in London. Most of these Turkish Kurds do speak – or have a working knowledge of – Turkish if they or their parents have had experience in the Turkish education system, but this is often out of necessity rather than a desire to learn. Moreover, some of these Kurds use their cultural freedom in the UK to engage with their native Kurdish language (which is officially banned in Turkey) and distance themselves from the Turkish language. This can leave them in an educational limbo. Issa (*et al.*, 2008, p. 15) draws attention to the fact that:

> For Turkish Kurdish pupils, there is an additional issue relating to the non-recognition of Kurdish as a language (for example, unlike Turkish, it is not offered as a GCSE subject). This was perceived as a barrier to Kurdish children developing their linguistic skills in their own language, and thus having a knock-on effect on their English language competence, as well as potentially damaging their sense of Kurdish identity.

In many countries, literacy skills are being reduced by the impact of popular culture and new media. Turkish speaking pupils are no less immune from this effect, and in some ways are more susceptible than the average student. Despite literacy rates rising dramatically from 1927 (the era the national language reform was introduced) to the present day, the proliferation of television soap operas and other shows, as well as the internet, have affected the take up of reading in Turkey itself.

An indication of the lack of interest in reading is shown in the following statistic from the Turkish Culture and Tourism Ministry. The map below illustrates how Turkish people spend their free time. The purple areas indicate reading whereas the blue areas represent television watching.



Map 1- How Turkish people spend their free time. Source: http://www.kygm.gov.tr/Eklenti/55,yonetici-ozetipdf.pdf?0

This cultural phenomenon manifests itself in the Turkish speaking migrant community in Britain as well. These Turkish speakers often bring their 'attitude to reading'[16] with them when they migrate to the UK. This in turn hinders their literacy and general educational development, not only in their native language but in English too. As a Turkish teacher of a North London supplementary school claims (Issa, Allen & Ross, 2008, p. 20):

> Lack of English language skills of some parents raises further concerns relating to their children's education. There is no reading culture at home and this is the case for English and Turkish. There is a 'satellite culture' of Turkish TV dominated by soaps with very little educational value. The key success in educational achievement is literacy in both languages.

The implication is that Turkish pupils' literacy levels face an unprecedented challenge which can have a detrimental effect on their educational attainment.

[16] The attitude to books is less surprising when we consider that as recently as the early 1980s books were burned and buried in the wake of the coup d'état and subsequent persecution of the military regime's political enemies.

3.1.2 LOW EXPECTATIONS AT SCHOOL

Ethnic minority children are sometimes subject to low expectations from their teachers. A supplementary school leader claimed "Teachers [in the UK] have low expectations of Turkish speaking children" (Issa, Allen & Ross, 2008, p. 17). The cause can range from conscious action in the worst case to ingrained cultural stereotyping. In other words, because the student is from a particular background where traditionally educational attainment has been low and parental support has been lacking, it is assumed that the child will not be able to perform at the same level as his or her native English peers.

An intriguing study has been carried out in Germany about the attitudes of German teachers towards migrant pupils of Turkish origin. The study claims that German teachers have low expectations of Turkish migrant pupils when marking their essays in German. To make the study a fair comparison, it mixed the names of the Turkish and German students. The teachers gave the German-named students higher marks on average than they gave to the Turkish-named ones. The study concludes that "[...] bias seems to arise more strongly if teachers have at least some experience with migrants" (Sprietsma, 2009, p. 9) and "[...] teachers base their expectation on their own experiences".

Despite focussed on Turks in the German education system, this study hints at possible causes of low expectations of British teachers of Turkish speaking migrant pupils. Although this study provides an invaluable insight into the Turkish migrant pupils' plight as learners, we must take into account the unique ethnic and cultural representation of Turkish migrants in Germany. There, Turks form the largest minority ethnic group whereas in Britain they do not. However, this phenomenon cannot altogether be dismissed. As mentioned before, areas with a high concentration of Turkish migrants do exist in London and we can see some parallels in terms of teachers' low expectations of Turkish pupils. "Children from ethnic minorities are being marked down by teachers who expect them to do worse than others in tests" British Education Minister Michael Gove said in a speech (November, 2012)[17]. This situation, if true, risks making low educational attainment into the norm and could prevent children from receiving the intervention needed to help them catch up with their mainstream classmates. However, the study also warns us against putting the blame entirely on the teachers, since "[p]sychological research has shown that behaviour is often affected by involuntary beliefs and expectations, this is called 'implicit bias'" (Sprietsma, 2009, p. 3).

The challenge of low expectation is a problem particularly felt by Kurdish children. The issues that affect the Kurdish community tend to be familiar to the teachers who know the catchment area. The teacher and the school, struggling with targets and limited funding, can perhaps

[17] **Source:** Retrieved from http://www.obv.org.uk/news-blogs/michael-gove-black-children-marked-down-teachers on 29th September, 2013.

limit the assistance to the Kurdish student. The problem can be exacerbated if there is low expectation at home from the student's family. If there is no imperative to improve from the teacher, and none from home, then it is unlikely the student will be able to achieve their own potential.

3.1.3 BULLYING

Turkish students' academic performance can also be adversely affected by bullying, which is of course a phenomenon that can affect any student. However, the typical demeanour of the Turkish student (well-behaved, quiet and obedient to authority) can single them out as targets for bullies, as Mehmet Ali (2006, p. 18) says:

> Shy and quiet – most Turkish speaking young people describe themselves as such. Some not confident in English may also adopt this approach. Others report that in class they may not ask questions for fear they may be put down by teachers. Some of these young people may become truants. Some report that bullies target them because they are shy and quiet. They are the last to report bullying.

Language problems and the aforementioned inferiority complex may make it more difficult for the student to speak out and seek help when needed. The culture of obedience that Turkish students have in their background, either through their parents or having been brought up in Turkey directly or otherwise, can amplify the problem. The risks to the learner are essentially the same as for those in the native population, but magnified by the distinct issues within the Turkish communities such as problems with speaking English, poverty, religious attitudes.

Bullying may also occur within the Turkish-speaking community. The 'macho' culture still predominates in Turkish society. A boy who prefers to learn and read rather than playing up the macho stereotype may be targeted by bullies. Mehmet Ali (2006, p. 21) talks about a 14-year-old Turkish boy who was bullied at school:

> They [school mates] kept bullying me and bullying me, hitting me and I said nothing. Teachers saw it but did nothing. Then they swore at my mother. No one swears at my mother! So I beat them up, good. Every time they swore at my Mum I got in really bloody fights, more and more fights. I beat them all. By the end I was such a good fighter the African and the Bengali gangs wanted me in their gang but I didn't join any of them. But the school kicked me out for fighting. When they were bullying me they didn't do anything but when I fought back they kicked me out. They sent me to a special needs school.

This anecdote makes it clear that it is almost impossible to expect this boy to achieve his potential at school when he experiences problems with his personal security. Although the example does not explain why the boy was bullied, it is likely to be a common experience shared by other young people in the community. They can suffer from the stigma of being the children of migrants from a poor region. Some of these second generation Turkish speakers can feel embarrassed about their parents due to how they dress, behave, and their lack of proficiency in English. Many young people may feel frustrated or ashamed that their parents cannot be as supportive as other parents. For example, the student's mother and father may arrive at a parents' evening dressed in traditional clothing and perhaps struggling to speak English.

Young people can be confused by what is expected from them. Their day-to-day experiences suggest that they are not welcome in their host society. They can be subjected to insults, bullying and racism. On the other hand, they are led to believe that if they conform to society's requirements, they can become British and be accepted. As a result, their daily realities do not match the rhetoric and is likely that many remain unconvinced (Mehmet Ali, 2006).

3.2 ECONOMIC CHALLENGES

Globalisation and the consumer society undoubtedly play a part in educational outcomes for all students. Turks are no less affected. On one hand, it can help bring disaffected minorities into the mainstream fold. On the other hand, not having access to wealth and material goods that others in mainstream society are able to obtain can create resentment and frustration. This contrast in achievement can again be seen between the Turkish Cypriots on one end of the scale and the newly-arrived Kurdish immigrants on the other.

> [...] many members of the Turkish Cypriot community, particularly the ones from the second generation, have experienced an upward mobility and became well-educated professionals. For them, many Turks and Kurds, who remain at lower socio-economic levels in London, constitute a valuable market source. (Atay, 2010, p. 132)

Research in one North London borough (Haringey) found that Turkish speaking families were on average more likely to be unemployed and living in rented accommodation; in all categories of social deprivation the Kurdish community had higher levels of deprivation than the Turkish and Turkish Cypriot communities (Enneli *et al*., 2005, p. 9).

According to Strand *et al.* (March, 2010, p. *unknown*), "under-attainment amongst [...] Turkish pupils [...] prior to KS4 appears to be significantly explained by poverty and social

deprivation". Another indicator of poverty is the application for free school meals. The table below shows us the percentages of free school meals among several migrant children groups. The figures show that Turkish speaking students, including those of Kurdish origin are still among the most deprived communities of London.

Ethnic Group	**%**
English/Scots/Welsh	53
African	54
Indian	56
Caribbean	64
Turkish/Turkish Cypriot	77
Bangladeshi	82
All Groups	**61**

Table 5- Free School Meals[18]

3.2.1 KURDS, THE 'UNDERCLASS' OF TURKISH MIGRANTS

Of the three groups, the one with the greatest set of problems facing it is undoubtedly the Turkish Kurd community. Kurdish Turk Baran (King *et al*., 2008) came to the UK because he felt that his identity was being repressed in Turkey.

> We live here as second-class citizens. Of course some migrants have financially good positions. But living standards cannot be measured by money alone… Many migrants only work to earn money. Their living standards are, of course, more comfortable than in Turkey. The country's democratic rights, education and institutions are a thousand times better than in Turkey. But there is a question mark in my mind about how much migrants are allowed to use them. (p. 17)

This section of the Turkish speaking population in London has to face not only racism and prejudice from other Turks (a legacy carried over from the conflict in Turkey)[19], but also endemic problems, such as conservative and reactionary attitudes towards Islam, which in turn has an impact upon their attitudes and expectations towards western education. Also a distrust of authority and state institutions brought over from Turkey is bound to have an effect on educational attainment.

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[18] **Source:** Hackney Council, Turkish Cypriot Community.

[19] According to Article 13 of the Turkish Constitution, from the point of view of citizenship, everyone is a Turk without regard to race or religion. Turkey has always been quite sensitive over the troubles between Kurds and Turks and has not recognised that there has been such a state.

> The Kurds, as the newest migrant group, suffer the highest levels of disadvantage in their lives, in part linked to the refugee status of many of them, while the longest settled group, the Turkish Cypriots, are the least disadvantaged. This pattern is transmitting itself to the next generation. (Enneli *et al*., 2005, p. 48)

Turkish Kurd students face a similar set of challenges as their fellow Turkish speakers, but also encounter distinct problems in the UK education system. Unlike Turkish Cypriots and Turks, Turkish Kurds are less likely to receive tailored help with their education, as the former do in the form of Turkish schools and assistance in their native language. There is no provision for the Kurdish language to be used in the mainstream education system. There are a handful of supplementary schools specifically aimed at teaching Kurdish yet there are only a small number of them.

Enneli *et al*. (2005) states that the Kurdish youth are aware of their economic disadvantages, and they usually accept their perceived place in society. A young Kurdish girl identifies herself as: "Somebody who is everybody's enemy – bloody refugee and unemployed? I suspect I'm at the bottom somewhere" (p. 11).

It is not hard to identify the seeds of this inferiority complex. Most Kurdish Turks come from the east of Turkey (sometimes via Istanbul). This is the most deprived and least developed part of the country, in part due to the conflict raging intermittently since the 1980s. According to Kuzu (2010) "Socioeconomic disparities have been the most prominent inequality problem in Turkey. Demographic studies show that south-eastern and eastern Anatolia are the most underdeveloped regions of Turkey and consequently local Kurds living in these lands have been most affected by material difficulties and illiteracy" (p. 47).

The Turkish Kurd population is on average less educated than other Turks, largely due to chronic underinvestment in schools and teachers in the east of the country. This results in a prevalence of conservative attitudes shared by many Turkish Kurds. Parents are often strict with their children, denying girls the right to education, forcing them to marry against their will and in some cases inflicting violence upon them, in the form of so-called honour killings. A study conducted by a team from Dicle University in Southeast Turkey on honour killings shows that little if any social stigma is attached to the act. "Some people think that it is related to a feudal structure, but this has proven to be false. There are also perpetrators who are well-educated university graduates. Of all those surveyed, 60 per cent are either high school or university graduates or at the very least, literate" (Gezer, July 2008). In such an environment, access to education is considered

more as a far off dream than a basic right, particularly for girls. The legacy of some of the more conservative cultural attitudes is often brought with the migrants to Britain.

These Kurdish Turks are often forgotten because they are not always identified as a distinct group, but as a minority population of Turks. These attitudes towards Turkish Kurds come not only from other Turks, the British authorities and the general British public, but also even from fellow Kurds from Iran, Syria and Iraq (the other countries harbouring major populations of Kurds).

3.3 GANG INVOLVEMENT

Turks, Turkish Kurds, and Turkish Cypriots are all at risk of being lured into urban London gangs, and many join or form such groups. This trend mirrors what is going on in other cultures of London, such as the Afro-Caribbean and Asian communities.

Another problem, not just facing the Turkish community but many ethnic minorities, is the lack of Turkish police officers. According to 2010 statistics from Scotland Yard, there are only 24 Turkish speaking officers in London's Metropolitan Police Force out of a total of over 31,000. This makes community relations all the more difficult, not only relating to language, but also to cultural understanding which could help to smooth relations between gangs and other kinds of criminality in the Turkish communities. According to Mehmet Ali (2001), where Turkish populations exist, gangs seem to inevitably follow. It appears that these gangs make up a parallel support network for the communities, offering the chance to make money and gain a status in society. In this context, education becomes less relevant.

A solution to the problem of young people joining gangs that has worked in the case of some other minority groups, for example, is the Metropolitan Police's Trident Gang Crime Command, which has helped reduce youth gang crime by a 67% fall in Westminster, a 53% fall in Brent and a 36% fall in Lambeth (met.police.uk). In the meantime, gangs continue to pose a menace to the Turkish community and threaten students' chances of succeeding in mainstream Britain. The gang structure gives young Turks a sense of belonging and a feeling of importance denied them in the regular social order. It is a way of connecting with fellow Turks, Kurds or Cypriots and defending the community from perceived and real outside threats, such as those posed by non-Turkish gangs and other forms of organised crime prevalent in London. The disconnect between second generation Turks and their parents often means that the parents are not aware of their child's involvement, or they may not even realise such gangs exist in their area. Mehmet Ali (2006, p. 18) explains the situation:

> Young people move around in gangs and yet are afraid of them. Some young people have been criminalised for hanging around with groups of friends. Fights may start and escalate with the minimum of provocation with other black and bilingual communities and territories have been identified even amongst Turkish speaking gangs such as the Bombers [Bombacilar in Turkish] or Tottenham Turks [or Tottenham boys]. They are usually the training and recruitment grounds for the Turkish speaking mafia.

The consequences of gang life can have devastating effects on those involved. Several young people from the Turkish speaking community have lost their lives in recent years as a result of gang feuds and inter-gang rivalry. In 2010, a Turkish shopkeeper was also murdered by members of a Turkish gang in a case of mistaken identity. In the same year, a Turkish gang member was shot dead, followed by a tit-for-tat retaliation attack. Coates[20] (2010), asserted that Turkish gangs 'dominated' the heroin drug trade in the UK, controlling at least 50% of the country's supply. These gangs have also become more integrated into the general underworld of London. Police constable Stephen Kavanagh, the area commander for North London in 2010, stated that pre-dominantly black gangs from Hackney had joined forces with Turkish gangs to broaden their grip on the drugs market and increase their influence over the trade. What may have started as groups of Turks coming together to provide protection for their community now appears to have spiralled into major international crime. It risks criminalising whole generations of marginalised Turks and Turkish Kurds.

The lack of educational role models is particularly damaging for the student. If it is seen as unfashionable and 'un-cool' to study hard and actively participate in lessons, that simply fuels the cycle of underachievement and alienation from mainstream society. It is crucial that children have positive role models in their life that they can look up to.

3.3.1 IDENTITY CRISIS

It is often hard to offer specific assistance to the Turkish speaking communities when they themselves have trouble defining who they are and what they have in common, and consequently are not able to explain what they need. A teacher from a North London secondary school claims that:

> They haven't got a Turkish culture. They haven't got a Kurdish culture. They haven't got an English culture. They don't know really what to do. They haven't got a real identity. Who are they? They are not Turkish, they are not Kurdish, they are not

[20] Steve Coates, deputy director of the Serious Organised Crime Agency (SOCA) and an expert on the heroin trade for the past 20 years. Retrieved from http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2009/oct/25/gang-shootings-armed-police-london on 29th May 2013.

> English….they are in between. Of course, they can say 'we are British' or 'we are all three cultures', and some do, but some just want to be Turkish, some just want to be Kurdish and its a really difficult position for them. (in Issa, Allen & Ross, 2008, p. 17)

Belonging to a gang is a means of solving another long-standing and serious issue facing young people in the Turkish speaking communities of London: a feeling of inferiority. Inferiority has been a long-lasting problem for Turkish people. One of the greatest obstacles facing educators trying to make progress with Turkish students is the lack of self esteem that some of the pupils have, and subsequent low self-expectation. This problem can manifest itself particularly when the student inevitably compares their academic abilities with those of their native population counterparts. The student may feel inferior because they have not yet mastered the host language, or they do not understand the native culture and the intricacies of the British education system. Of course objectively the Turkish student cannot be expected to have the same advantages that a native learner has. However, the education system actively promotes equality and is keen not to stress the differences and difficulties that foreign student may have. Well-meaning educators may fear offending or singling out the migrant student as in some way intellectually inferior. Although well-intended, this can lead to the real issues not being adequately addressed, such as language deficiency.

This inferiority complex can also come from the parents of the student. They struggle to come to the UK and have to fight for every right, even to stay in the country in the first place. The second generation should not have the same struggle, as they were born in the 'host' country, and are therefore supposedly exposed to British culture, language and the education system from the start, unlike their parents.

It is not that clear where this inferiority complex exactly comes from and, obviously, there are several factors causing this problem. Akyol (2010) suggests that after the foundation of the Turkish Republic, language reform was only one aspect of the Kemalist[21] cultural revolution. Akyol (2010) argues that in fact, the general idea was to change the very identity of society and make it 'Western' in all aspects. The idea of 'Westernisation'[22] undoubtedly brought modernisation to the new republic; however, with the reform of the Turkish language, Turks became disconnected from their cultural ancestry and inheritance, such as literature and poetry written prior to the 1920s. A stark example of this is that very few Turks today could actually read a book written a hundred years ago.

For the sake of "cleansing" the Turkish language of "foreign" (mostly Arabic and Persian) words, some have argued that the Turkish language lost its depth and nuances. Built upon this

[21] Kemalism is a political ideology associated with the founder and first President of Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. In other words, it means being secular and modern.

[22] Aiming to westernise the Turkish language, Ataturk adopted the Latin alphabet by replacing the Arabic script. He removed many Persian and Arabic words and replaced them with modern Turkish alternatives.

foundation, it is easier to understand why many Turkish people are disengaged with literature (Lewis, 2010).

3.4 PARENTAL ISSUES

Parenting is an important factor determining how well Turkish students cope in school. Encouragement from home can make an enormous difference to the outcome of the learner's success. Conversely, a negative and indifferent approach can destroy the student's chances of making the most of educational opportunities. We will also be looking at how parents can play a role – both positive and negative – in the pupil's chances.

Lack of respect is one of the problems that Turkish speaking parents face with their children. In Turkey, children are generally more respectful towards their parents and their seniors. However, in the UK the way they have brought up can differ from the way they would have been raised in Turkey. In Turkey the parents are stricter than they are in the UK and it is not uncommon for parents to use mild violence such as slapping to control their children. But in the UK there are specific laws[23] against smacking children, and it is generally frowned upon to invoke strict punishments on them. The same applies in Turkish schools, where corporal punishment is still used to discipline wayward students, in comparison with British schools, where it is against the law.

The impact of this new found freedom can affect some Turkish children in the UK. Sudden freedom from strict discipline at school and in the home can send some 'off the rails'. This is where positive parenting can make a significant difference to the child's educational outcome. Moves such as encouraging their children to attend after-school classes and other kinds of extra-curricular activities are prevalent among some sections of the Turkish community, particularly those from Cyprus. It is surely no coincidence that this group is the most integrated into British society, and the most economically affluent, therefore being able to afford such classes.

3.4.1 THE POSITION OF WOMEN IN LONDON'S TURKISH SPEAKING COMMUNITIES

Achievement in the Turkish communities can be further broken down to those of men and women, boys and girls. Even among the genders in the three Turkish communities, there is a clear divide. Educational outcomes for women are even worse than for men, for a variety of reasons. The

[23] It is unlawful for a parent or carer to smack their child, except where this amounts to "reasonable punishment". This defence is laid down in section 58 of the Children Act 2004.

problem is complex yet pressing if the outcomes for the Turkish minority as a whole are to be addressed. Turkish Cypriot Lale tells us her story why she came to the UK:

> The girls were all expected to get married, have children and things like that. And somewhere something went wrong and I just rebelled against that kind of thing – I wanted more for my life. I couldn't see myself getting married and… I decided that I would escape by emigrating, and the first choice was England because that was a kind of mother country… I heard a lot of stories from my father when I was a young child. He came back with lots of pictures. I saw how women were treated. He told us women were very liberated and educated in England, and that idea kind of appealed to me because I wanted to become someone. I wanted to take control of my life. I wanted to feel that, yes, I am important as a woman and that my ideas count. (in King *et al*., 2008, p. 13)

In Turkey, women often face discrimination. According to some conservative views, prominent in rural areas and in some suburbs of the large cities, women are supposed to obey their husband and serve him. However, when the families immigrate to the UK, they can sometimes struggle to cope with the relatively liberal attitudes prevalent in modern Britain. The men can feel threatened, and feel their behaviour is under scrutiny, or their way of life is at risk. This in turn can lead to instances where women are oppressed and hidden in society. On the other hand, some Turkish women enjoy the relative freedom of life in the UK. This can lead to a backlash from jealous husbands or other male relatives who feel their culture is being threatened. In such circumstances women can be more at risk from domestic abuse. Domestic abuse can also affect their children and slowly destroy the family structure, and reduce the chance that they will be successfully integrated into society and the education system.

Women and girls are also prone to experiencing low expectation. The role of women in Turkish society is usually to look after the home, cook the meals and clean the house, and eventually to be a mother. It is hard to remove this deep-seated idea from both men and women. When women want to pursue an advanced education, this is often frowned upon and seen with suspicion. Equally, the woman/girl may be dissuaded from pursuing higher or further education because it is deemed a waste of time by her family as she has been destined for a life of serving a man, rather than making a career herself. If a woman has not married and had children by a certain age, she is regarded as 'abnormal' by many in the traditional culture. Page, Whitting and McLean (2007) describe the difficulties faced in the following terms:

> Often, due to language issues and family structure, [Turkish speaking] women cannot go out and engage in, or work with, wider society without thinking creatively about the nature of engagement or employment [immigrants have] language

> barriers and are isolated from formal support, due to not knowing how to access services and, particularly, language courses. (p. 37)

Women from the Turkish Kurd community usually bear the brunt of this behaviour since "[...] for Kurdish women, access to employment is made more difficult by their poor English language skills and lack of education and training" (King *et al*., 2008, p. 10). Similarly Page, Whitting and McLean (2007, p. 33) point out that the Parent Council (a body which enables parents to contribute to their children's educational attainment) finds it difficult to engage with the Turkish community. "This community is well-established in the area [North London]; however, issues around educational attainment rates and parental English proficiency remain".

3.4.1.1 'HONOUR KILLINGS'

In a male-centred society such as Turkey, girls are usually supposed to follow their parents' orders especially their father's. He is the figurehead of the family and a good son or daughter is expected to respect him at all times. The father needs to maintain his authority to keep up this role as seen by his peers. When these families migrate to the UK, the father is often aware that once their children attend school, they are exposed to 'western' and liberal ideas which could undermine their position in the family and the community. The honour of the family is sometimes considered to be at risk from new ideas and the freedom that Western education can afford young people from these communities.

In the most conservative families, educating a daughter is seen as a controversial issue in the existing social order. Baysal (2012) points out the lack of access to education and employment as some of the most significant barriers faced by Kurdish women living in Turkey. He adds that Kurdish "[...] women start their formal educational journey with a language other than their own and this brings many challenges - estrangement to their own culture, incomprehension of the lessons taught, and discrimination within the school system"[24].

One of Turkey's leading female writers, Elif Shafak, states that women in Turkey are hurt the most by those they love the most, namely their father or brother. In the case of honour killings, "[...] decisions to end their lives have been reached by the family collectively – a common pattern in so-called 'honour' killings. Fathers give the verdict, mothers support the decision, remain silent or simply cannot control the course of events, and brothers often commit the crime". [25]

Yannakoudakis[26] (2012) points out that the killing of women in Turkey increased by 1,400 per cent between 2002 and 2009, including many so-called honour killings.

[24] Retrieved from http://www.awid.org/News-Analysis/Friday-Files/Kurdish-Women-Resilience-in-the-face-of-double-discrimination on 28th May 2013.

[25] Elif Shafak. Retrieved from http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2011/mar/21/turkish-honour-seriously-misguided on 16th February 2013.

[26] Marina Yannakoudakis is a Conservative Party Member of the European Parliament for London.

It could be assumed that living in a multicultural city such as London would bring a more liberal attitude to the immigrant families; however, the reality is often more complicated. Bingham (2009) mentions an honour killing of a Kurdish girl in London which occurred in 1999. He points out that the UK case signalled the first time that prosecutors called on expert witnesses who were used to describe how the "namus" – or family code of honour – worked among Turkish Kurds. Sapsted (2009) draws attention to the issue of honour killing in his article:

> The problem is a relatively new one in Europe, exacerbated by the sudden influx of immigrants in the past two decades. British police estimate that a dozen women a year are murdered in the United Kingdom in the name of honour, but many others are tricked or forced into travelling back to their home countries to be killed there. A helpline for Kurdish women in the UK gets an average of 1,000 calls a year.[27]

In the backdrop of this disturbing issue, students are bound to be affected either directly or indirectly due to family links or merely by the reputation it creates.

3.5 STATUS OF RELIGION

Religion, and in the Turks' case, Islam, plays an important part in education. Despite Turkey's outwardly secular state, Islam is ingrained in many parts of Turkish society, not least education. Consequently, when these Turks come to Britain, they bring their religious values with them, which can bring both benefits and problems when it comes to 'western' education.

Religious issues have been cited as the cause at the root of many of the integration problems faced by the Turkish and Turkish Kurd communities in London. There seems to be a relationship between religion and immigration. Often as Turks migrate to the UK, they become more religious. This can be explained by a need for them to keep in touch with their culture, as well as providing them with guidance in a new and confusing environment. Moreover, because of the huge cultural and religious differences between two countries (the UK and Turkey), Turkish people think that when they immigrate to the UK, they lose their religion so they become more religious and they want their children to learn about Islam as they did when they were studying in Turkey. This provides an added challenge for schools to integrate their Turkish speaking students. Religious sensitivities must be taken into account and provisions made accordingly.

Religious schools have been suggested as a solution to the loss of Islam. However, they can also reinforce the lack of connection between the Turkish student and mainstream education and society. On the other hand, it can create a divide in the Turkish community with the parents of those

[27] David Sapsted. Retrieved from http://www.thenational.ae/news/world/europe/europe-waking-up-to-honour-killings-after-turkish-kurd-jailed-in-uk on 16th February 2013.

students embracing an Islamic education judging those who do not, or opt for a place in a non-religious school. It is not really surprising that Fettullah Gulen[28] who is the pioneer of the Gulen movement already has more than 1000 school across the Globe, including the UK (Stourton BBC, 2011). His schools have been accused of influencing Turkish speaking students on the matter of religion.

3.6 FEAR OF TURKS

Turkish students can face another difficulty when it comes to assimilating in the UK. Anti-Turkism is a phenomenon that has existed since the First World War (1914-1918), which saw the then Ottoman Empire enter the War as an ally of Germany. Essentially some British people have been brought up with the notion that Turks are an 'enemy' people.

This is not helped by controversial political issues yet to be resolved, such as the Turkish denial of the mass killing of Armenians which began in 1915, the 'Kurdish issue' and the strong presence of nationalism in Turkey, which is often brought across to Britain by the migrant population. These conflicts, as well as prejudice against Muslims promoted in some sections of society, can create tensions between the Turkish migrants and the host population. Yet, often this anti-Turkism can also be a perception in the minds of Turks rather than a reality. The truth is that the issues which are of extreme importance to Turks, such as the alleged Armenian Genocide, are less well known to the British, and by extension British students, than to Turks. Yet prejudice, conscious or subconscious, still pervades some elements of British society nonetheless.

The feeling of not being welcome, especially when the sentiment is expressed by an elected Member of Parliament, is surely only increased for Turks trying to integrate and assimilate in Britain. It can also increase distrust of the authorities, and make these communities more insular and self-reliant.

Nevertheless, sometimes the behaviour of Turks contributes to misconceptions and distrust. As a proud people, Turks bring the love of their country with them when they emigrate to Britain. You will often see a portrait of Turkey's founder Mustafa Kemal Atatürk on the walls of Turkish homes in Britain, as well as Turkish flags prominently displayed. This can be seen as a well-meaning show of patriotism, but it can also raise suspicions among the host community that their migrants' loyalties are divided.

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[28] Fettullah Gulen is a Turkish Muslim scholar who teaches about Sunni Islam. At the moment, he lives in the States, but he has many Gulen schools around the world. Retrieved from http://fgulen.com/en/ on 28th May, 2013.

3.7 CONCLUSION

As we have seen, there are both a unique and shared series of challenges facing all three of these communities. With a set of challenges coming from within, as well as, from outside these communities, it could seem almost an impossible task for a young student from these groups to succeed. This situation can only be exacerbated by the effects of the economic downturn, which has seen resources available to these communities stretched. But as we will see, there are positive stories, especially from the relative achievements of the Turkish Cypriot community.

CHAPTER FOUR

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE TO TACKLE THE UNDERACHIEVEMENT OF TURKISH SPEAKING SECOND GENERATION IMMIGRANTS?

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter will provide an overview of what has been achieved so far to tackle the problems that first and second generation Turkish speaking immigrants encounter within the British education system. There are government schemes such as Ethnic Minority Achievement Departments and the Ethnic Minority and Traveller Achievement Service which are aimed at helping immigrants who do not have English as their native language. These government schemes provide immigrants with English language assistance as well as supporting them to overcome any challenges they face in a school environment by offering them mentoring and guidance socially, emotionally and academically. In order to boost the educational attainment of the Turkish speaking communities, Turkish language schools have been opened around London.

4.1 SCHOOLS PROVISION

As discussed in the previous chapter, several North London schools containing a high number of Turkish speaking students raised concerns about Turkish-speaking pupils' underachievement at school and carried out several surveys in order to find out why Turkish learners were underachieving, and possible solutions to these problems.

Local authority statistics for 2001-2003 show that government initiatives targeting raising achievement levels such as AimHigher[29], Excellence in Cities[30], Literacy and Numeracy strategies did not have a significant impact on the attainment of Turkish speaking young people. They were still the lowest achievers in local authorities with substantial numbers of Turkish speaking youngsters. This confirms that general approaches are insufficient to raise the attainment levels of groups such as the Turkish speaking communities with severe and established low achievement.

[29] AimHigher is an initiative established to encourage progression to higher education
[30] Excellence in cities is a programme which was launched in 1999 in England to improve school achievement

4.1.1 SUPPLEMENTARY ENGLISH SESSIONS

Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMA) departments are one of the facilities that migrant children, including Turkish speaking pupils, can benefit from. The Department for Education describes the EMA departments as a means of

> [...] enabling every child to fulfill his or her potential [...] to raise school standards. [...] for some groups, the gaps remain unacceptably wide. [...] There is no single intervention that achieves the best possible results for every disadvantaged or minority ethnic child, but evidence does show that schools are independently important for narrowing attainment gaps. Research suggests that schools which are successful in raising the attainment of minority ethnic pupils share broadly similar approaches to the creation of a genuinely inclusive school community.[31]

The EMA departments aim to help ethnic minority pupils reach their potential by promoting equality of opportunity for all minority ethnic students; in other words, each child should have the right to get education no matter what their ethnic background is. This help is usually available for English support for those who are new to the UK education system with little experience of English. The EMA departments work closely with subject teachers to maximise the levels of achievement for pupils from all ethnic minority communities and the department also caters for the needs of pupils for whom English is an additional language. In addition, pupils receive support from specialist teachers and teaching assistants in the class or in the EMA department in a one-to-one basis which can help the child catch up.

The EMA departments are usually open during lunch breaks for students to talk to staff, get help with homework, play board games and have access to social support. This way, the department provides a secure environment, which can become the students' 'home base' within the school. The students are supported by English teachers as well as teaching assistants in the class or outside one-to-one sessions (or groups) in the EMA department. EMA students, just like special education needs students, are given extra time (25 per cent extra allocated time) during their GCSE exams as a school policy in line with the EMA ethos of making sure no student is disadvantaged by their language difficulties.

Turkish Kurds and Turks have found this service particularly useful, but Turkish and Kurdish-speaking language assistants tend to be unevenly distributed in London, mainly concentrated around North London. Yet the failure of Turkish students in the British education system is not exclusively down to language.

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[31] Source: Retrieved from http://www.education.gov.uk/schools/pupilsupport/inclusionandlearnersupport/mea/a0013246/ethnic-minority-achievement on 3rd June 2013.

There are other aspects at play, which have been mentioned in the previous chapter. Therefore a solution focused purely on resolving the language issues, although important, might not be entirely effective at bridging the educational gap. One group that does tend to benefit from language assistance is the Turkish Kurds. As largely first generation immigrants, language is an immediate barrier they face. Although the solution is complicated by the cultural desire to learn Kurdish, as opposed to Turkish seen in some Kurdish families. As mentioned before, introducing GCSEs and A Levels in Kurdish would be a good solution for equal rights.

An investigation carried out in three schools[32] in order to look at issues surrounding Turkish speaking pupils found that the lack of classroom support by native Turkish speakers was highlighted as an issue of concern among parents. The head teacher of a North London primary school, Burbage Primary, emphasises the benefits of using Turkish speaking teachers and teaching assistants.

This school has used a Turkish speaking "consultant" to give advice to parents. It also provides translation services for several forms of correspondence. "Burbage's use of a Turkish speaking parent as a classroom assistant was a useful example of the advantages of being able to support children with basic English fluency to ensure that the language barrier was not holding them back." [33] This also helped the school to communicate with parents. Another issue raised by head teachers was the lack of accessibility to schools felt by parents.

4.1.2 MENTORING FACILITIES AT SCHOOLS

Mentoring can provide an effective solution to the issue highlighted above. It plays a crucial role in supporting and encouraging pupils to succeed. Mentoring allows the informal passing on of experiential knowledge which is not written down officially and passed from one person to another (McKimm, Jollie & Hatter, 2003). The mentor has sometimes been through the same experiences and struggles as the mentee, and can therefore have more of an impact on them, using real examples to press their case. Mentors can often have more of an effect on the Turkish child than their parents, friends or others. The Axis Education Trust[34] currently uses the mentoring system as an aid to support the pupils attending their supplementary school. Some of the involvement of the mentor consists of holding tutorials for those struggling learning in specific areas.

[32] Homerton and Stoke Newington Secondary Schools and Burbage Primary School in North London. Retrieved from http://esi.essexcc.gov.uk/vip8/si/esi/content/binaries/documents/Service_Areas/Pupil_Support/Documentation/Turkish_Pupils_Toolkit.doc on 1st June, 2013.

[33] Report of Education Scrutiny Panel, Underachievement of Turkish speaking boys Retrieved from http://apps.hackney.gov.uk/servapps/reports/s_ ViewRptDoc.ASP?ID=1254, on 1st of June, 2013.

[34] The Axis Education Trust was founded in 1994 as charity which aims to provide supplementary education to primary and secondary school pupils across the UK. This charity was inspired by Fetullah Gulen's teachings based on Islam. Retrieved from http://www.axiseducationaltrust.org/ on 1st June 2013.

Mentoring has also been successfully used to help raise the achievement of pupils from Bangladeshi, Somali, and some Turkish students (Strand *et al.*, March, 2010). "Co-educators were role models from the local community who were able to provide mentoring and support to underachieving groups" (2010, p. 106). However, this scheme is the exception rather than the rule and more needs to be done to improve pupils' grades and achieve to their best of ability.

4.1.2.1 ROLE MODELS

One of the biggest problems that second generation Turkish speaking young people face in Britain is the lack of prominent role models. This compares with Germany where Germans of Turkish origin have managed to achieve national and even international fame such as footballer Mehmet Özil. In Britain, Olympic athlete Mohammed Farah has achieved superstar status through his exploits at the 2012 Olympic Games. Farah, originally from Somalia, is a great success story and an inspiration for others from the Somali community. The Turkish speaking community, by contrast, does not have such a high profile person for young people to admire, despite being of a similar number.

One project is trying to change that. "Raising Expectation"[35] was launched in 2011 by a team of Turks who aimed to promote the visibility of role models within the Turkish speaking community in Britain. The team conducted 30 interviews with successful Turks and Turkish Cypriots ranging from teachers to barristers and authors to diplomats including Alper Mehmet, a former British diplomat and Baroness Meral Hüseyin Ece, a Politician. They published these interviews in a booklet and distributed it to schools, libraries, community organisations and local governments across the UK, particularly, in those areas with a dense Turkish population. The team aims to follow up this project with breakfast panels where the youth can meet the role models involved in the project in an informal setting.

Needless to say, this initiative is a positive starting point. Nevertheless, it excludes Turkish Kurds who are probably the group that need this kind of support the most.

4.1.3 ROLE OF PARENTS

The UK Department for Education states that "[...] parental involvement in children's learning is a key factor in improving children's academic attainment and achievements, as well as their overall behaviour and attendance" (education.gov.uk). Therefore, to address the

[35] **Source:** Retrieved from http://raisingexpectations.socialstudies.org.uk/Raising%20Expectations%20Content/Raising%20Expectations%20e-Book.pdf on 1st June 2013.

underachievement of Turkish speaking second generation pupils, we need to look at parents' contribution to the child's education. One of the ways in which some Turkish speaking parents have tried to address the education needs of their children is by setting up supplementary schools.

4.1.3.1 TURKISH SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOLS

According to 2008 statistics (von Ahn *et al*., 2010, p. 11), Turkish is ranked as the seventh most spoken language in London. Among the "other white" ethnic groups, Turkish (14%) is the most common language (2010, p. 6). As a result, Turkish-speaking pupils can benefit from taking Turkish as a GCSE and A Level language option.

In order to help Turkish second generation pupils with their GCSE and A Level language exams, Turkish supplementary schools have been introduced. These schools not only aim to teach Turkish but also to help pupils overcome language and culture loss as well as offering them a taste of the Turkish education system.

Usually privately funded by the parents of the children, the schools give the chance for pupils to keep a link with their ancestral community and culture by allowing them to re-engage with the process of education itself. As a part of a bilateral agreement, qualified Turkish teachers from Turkey come to educate children outside of normal school hours. In London, there are 23 such schools specifically dedicated to this task and incorporating Turkish public schools teachers mainly in North London where there is a wider potential of Turkish clients who would want to send their children to those schools. These schools are run largely by parents and volunteers, and sometimes find obtaining funding a challenge.

"The Turkish Language Culture and Education Consortium in the UK"[36], an umbrella organisation representing many of London's Turkish schools states the aim of such establishments is to "develop effective networking of Turkish educational associations in order to coordinate a collective response to the educational issues of concern for these communities".

Although setting up a Turkish school seems to provide a solution to the problem mentioned in Chapter Two, it also poses a unique set of challenges. Teachers coming from Turkey or Turkish Cyprus are not always familiar with the education system in the UK. Teachers do not always speak English very well which would affect their relationship with the kids they are teaching. Turkish teachers usually complain about students being rude, lazy, lacking manners, and not wanting to learn their parents' first language. This is partially due to the fact that teachers do not seem to understand that the students have already partly or fully assimilated to British culture as they were

[36] Source: http://turkishschools.co.uk/main.html on 16th February 2013.

born and raised in the UK. This lack of communication can, if unchecked, create a distance between the teacher and the students and take away the enthusiasm and motivation of the teacher who might be expecting more from the students before coming to the UK and from the students who are looking for a teacher who understands them.

Having a different religion can be another problem that Turkish teachers face in the UK. However, the teachers need to take the host culture into consideration and be prepared for the cultural challenges and constraints he or she may face.

One group is lobbying to have a Kurdish GCSE introduced. The Kurdish Studies and Student Organisation say that the aim of the Kurdish GCSE Campaign Group is to introduce a Kurdish language GCSE into the national curriculum. At present there are a significant number of Kurdish speaking individuals who would benefit greatly from such a qualification. Many feel it is time that Kurdish was accepted and acknowledged as a modern language that could be taught at secondary schools all across the UK.

4.2 CULTURAL INTEGRATION

The solution to tackling underachievement also rests in a successful cultural integration. In Chapter Two, I have shown that Turkish Cypriots among the Turkish speaking community were the most integrated of the three groups.

Cultural integration has been a topic of discussion in my own interviews as shown in the above examples. Parents should make greater attempts to learn more about the society that they are living in to set a good example to their children. This will help resolve one of the fundamental causes of underachievement of Turkish speaking second generation pupils.

4.2.1 LEARNING FROM OTHER ETHNIC MINORITIES

Those involved in strategic planning of the education of Turks in the UK could learn from how other minorities have been successfully integrated. In some ways, the Turkish Kurd and Turkish immigrants share more in common with immigrants from Pakistan and the Indian subcontinent (who largely came in the 1950s and 60s) than they do with the first group of migrants from Turkish Cyprus. They both faced ingrained cultural problems, prejudice against women and largely a background of poverty. Although second and third generation Pakistani British people still face tough issues, there has been some success thanks to initiatives in the education system such as

including Urdu as an option for GCSEs and A Levels. Dale *et al.* (2000) states that despite "[...] the depressed economic circumstances and the low level of qualifications amongst many of the parents of Pakistani and Bangladeshi young people, [their] commitment to education is remarkable" (p. 8).

Greek and Turkish Cypriots also offer an excellent example of more successful migration and integration into the British education system. As mentioned in the first chapter Turkish Cypriots are the most successful of the three groups to have emigrated from Turkey and Northern Cyprus. They are the most economically affluent group, the best speakers of English and the most likely to succeed in the education system. Of course there are reasons why this group have found success, such as the cultural influences from Britain existent in Cyprus, but still Turks and Turkish Kurds can take lessons from how this group has managed to more or less find its feet in modern Britain.

4.2.2 WOMEN'S SOLIDARITY ORGANISATIONS

One of the obstacles faced by the Turkish speaking community is that girls are discouraged from receiving education as we have discussed in Chapter Two. Turkish-speaking women often face prejudice particularly in Turkey. Sometimes this problem can continue even after Turkish women have migrated to Britain when they live in closed communities. This is predominantly encountered by Kurdish women from Turkey. In response, a number of organisations have been set up to help these women.

One of them is DAY-MER[37] funded by the Hackney Learning Trust. This community centre does not only organise daily activities such as youth celebrations, picnics, photography exhibitions, festivals, concerts, panel discussions, street theatres, but it also specialises in providing educational services to the Turkish and the Turkish Kurd community in the form of education coordinators provided to a number of primary and secondary schools in the borough in order to improve the level of achievement amongst Turkish speaking pupils. Turkish and Kurdish speaking women can participate in literacy classes which would eventually enable them to integrate into the British society by offering them more job opportunities.

The Association of Turkish Women in Britain (ATWIB)[38] is another Turkish speaking women's support organisation which was established in 2002 as a charity run by volunteers. Just like DAY-MER, ATWIB also organises social, cultural, educational and leisure activities to encourage Turkish women in Britain to socialise and learn new skills. ATWIB has been an instant success, raising money and launching several projects.

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[37] Source: Retrieved from http://daymer.org/content/education-services on 16th February 2013.
[38] ANTWIB. Source: Retrieved from http://www.atwib.org.uk/ on 16th February 2013.

Another initiative, the Turkish Cypriot Women Project (TCWP)[39] is a charitable organisation that is governed by a Board of Trustees (Management Committee). This organisation was established to meet the needs of the Turkish Cypriot, Turkish and Kurdish women who are disadvantaged in society by providing culturally sensitive services. TCWP aims to improve the lives of Turkish speaking women as well as to advance the education of women by the provision of classes and training courses.

The organisations discussed above are positive initiatives to promote cultural integration and encourage girls to achieve more at school. These women need to be given greater assistance to adapt to British culture and to ensure that their daughters are engaged with society and aware of the new opportunities that are available in the UK which were not in Turkey.

[39] TCWP. Source: Retrieved from www.tcwp.org.uk on 16th February 2013.

CHAPTER FIVE

DEADLOCK, OR HOPE FOR THE FUTURE? VOICES FROM THE TURKISH SPEAKING COMMUNITY

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In this Chapter, I will be presenting my own interviews with teachers of Turkish around London. The voices of several key players involved in the education of second generation Turkish immigrants in North London will be heard. So far, little difference has been noted between first and second generation Turkish immigrants in terms of their educational attainment. This Chapter will be dedicated to new avenues derived from voices within the Turkish community who are concerned about the plight of second generation Turkish immigrant children.

5.1 INTERVIEWS

Interviews are data collection methods that provide qualitative first and second hand information from sources in order to reach conclusions about a subject matter. There are three types of interview to collect qualitative data. These are the informal conversational, the general interview guide approach and the standardised open-ended interview (Patton, 2002). In the interviews that I conducted, I used the general interview guide approach which Patton (2002, p. 342) describes as "[...] an approach [that] involves outlining a set of issues that are to be explored with each respondent before interviewing begins". This method allows a more specific outcome than the conversational approach response, yet permits a degree of freedom and flexibility in the process of obtaining the required information from the interviewee. Therefore, I interviewed six relevant people involved in the education of Turkish speaking pupils. These interviews have provided invaluable information for my dissertation and have shed light on the solutions that are proposed towards tackling the underachievement of Turkish speaking second generation immigrant children. All of the interviews have been carried out through face-to-face, sit-down interviews and I took notes during the interview process. Only one of the interviews was in English therefore, I translated five of the interviews from Turkish to English. The main conclusion I drew from these interviews supported the general idea that the parents' influence is very strong on the educational attainment of second-generation Turkish speaking children.

5.2 DRAWBACKS TO THE TURKISH SUPPLEMENTARY SCHOOL SYSTEM

As discussed in Chapter Four, one of the solutions proposed by parents to tackle the loss of Turkish language and culture among Turkish second generation immigrants was to open supplementary schools. In Chapter Four, we have witnessed the importance of supplementary schools as a means of contributing to cultural integration of Turkish second generation immigrants. At this point, we need to ask the following question: How effective are these supplementary schools in relation to the academic success of second generation Turkish pupils? The idea of teaching second generation Turkish immigrants their native language and culture seems to be a simple, but important one. I interviewed a co-founder of a Turkish supplementary school in order to get some information about how it works. Turkish-Cypriot Sevilay worked as a nurse in Northern Cyprus before coming to the UK. She left the island in the late 1990s, hoping for a better life in the UK when she was in her 30s. "One of the reasons why we opened a Turkish language school," she says, "is that we felt it was necessary for our second generation children to learn their mother tongue in a school environment as well as their ancestors' culture". In theory it looks like a straightforward process; however, setting up such schools is challenging, as Sevilay explains:

> When we went ahead with the idea of founding the school, we had difficult days regarding the finances. We had to go and knock on Turkish shops, businessmen's doors and ask for money. We as the founders, tried to use our contacts, our relatives and our friends to find students for our school. We organised a ball to collect some money by selling tickets for the ball. Our first donation was 1000 pounds which did not seem much at all, but at that time it helped a lot. We also produced brochures and adverts, and distributed them to British mainstream schools around our school. First year of founding our school, we had our children, our relatives' children and grandchildren attending. Then other Turkish people living in the same area heard about the school by word of mouth.

Sevilay highlights the important role a supplementary school can play in bridging the gap between a Turkish speaking student and the host culture. She also mentions that exposure to British culture for the second and third generations distances them from their original culture.

> We are trying to do as much as we can, but it is very difficult to teach students Turkish language and traditions. This is because they live in a foreign country where they have foreign friends at school. They do not have much contact with Turkish language. In terms of culture, they do not learn traditions much. The only thing they can observe is weddings. Religious holidays such as Ramadan are celebrated but it is not the same that you would celebrate in Turkey. They do not have holidays on those days so their concepts of holidays are Christmas and Easter. In this school, we are giving great importance to our national festivals and we celebrate them as much as

> we can. Our teachers prepare presentations to talk about the importance of that day and why we celebrate. I do not find these events sufficient for the fact that children do not show respect to these important festivals.

Sevilay is concerned about the attitude of many of the parents towards their children's education. She believes that parental involvement needs to be improved.

> Unfortunately, parents are ignorant that is why our help is limited. During our first years, we opened adult English courses, handcraft courses and folk dance lessons in order to keep parents interested so that they would bring their children. Nevertheless, parents are expecting their children to speak Turkish fluently in one academic year and if they do not achieve this then they try to question the system of the school. I do not think this is a fair approach towards us because you cannot expect someone to acquire a language if this person uses that target language only one or two hours a week. Most of the parents do not take this language teaching process seriously. Especially parents who were born in the UK, it is quite difficult for their children to speak Turkish as parents themselves do not speak Turkish fluently.

As demonstrated in the interview, parents' education plays an important part in their children's success at school. This is not only the case in supplementary schools, but also the same in mainstream schools.

Turkish-Cypriot Hüseyin (28) came to London to teach Turkish at Turkish supplementary schools. He was working in primary school in Kyrenia in Northern Cyprus. Hüseyin was telling me that he was surprised about how different Turkish pupils were compared to Northern Cyprus.

> Turkish speaking pupils are generally reluctant about learning in general and it is very difficult to motivate them. The fact that Turkish supplementary schools are held either at weekends or in the evening after mainstream school causes that unwillingness. In addition to this, the Turkish second generation pupils also see these supplementary schools as a place for meeting and having fun with their friends. Most of these children are pressured to attend the supplementary school by their parents. For this reason, they often do anything they can to be excluded from the school. All these factors create unenthusiastic and undisciplined children that do not do their homework. In my opinion, these children's underachievement can be attributed to parents' working long hours and not being able to take care of their children who take this opportunity to waste their time and energy on messing around instead of studying. A proper guidance and care would raise these children's achievement. Unfortunately, here in the UK, we have Turkish second generation pupils who think that work is ready for them when they finish school and so they do not care about getting good grades.

Ahmet (36) who came to the UK from mainland Turkey to teach in Turkish supplementary schools in London is originally from a city in Black Sea Region in Turkey. He studied and worked in Istanbul as a History teacher at a secondary school. Similarly, Ahmet, a teacher who works in several Turkish supplementary schools across London, commented that the parents play an important role in their children's education.

> First of all, the education level of parents is important. I mean, it is important that parents should encourage activities which will help their children improve both their English and Turkish language abilities. For example, reading culture. At home, (if the parents are both Turkish) they speak Turkish, but the usage lacks depth. I would understand that for young children, they cannot understand complex language, but unfortunately this continues like that. These children [second generation Turkish speaking migrant children] are not capable of becoming familiar with the Turkish language, let alone the English language. In short, it is significant that parents should provide an intellectual environment for their children.

Here, Ahmet emphasises the necessity for parents to use both English and Turkish. The implication is that the way parents communicate with their children influences their children's linguistic development.

> Most parents [of Turkish second generation children in the UK] are not interested in their children's learning. They do not have any worry whether their children would go to university or not. In Turkey, parents want their children to succeed and go to university. Here these first generation migrants came to the UK poor and now they make some money. The parents would be satisfied if their children also had a job where they make some money. One of my students told me that he would like to go to university, but if not he will be a barber at his dad's shop anyway. They are not worried about their children studying. He will probably be a barber in the end.

In Ahmet's experience, the differing attitudes of Turkish parents in Turkey and in the UK can affect the outcome of their children's educational attainment. He is implying that when families migrate to the UK, their expectation for their children's education and career prospects drop. He does not specify why this is, but the following points can be taken into consideration. The parents may not feel that they occupy a worthwhile place in society. Also, the university fees in Turkey are not as high as they are in London, which can be a deterrent factor.

Yilmaz worked as an English teacher in Istanbul in Turkey. Yilmaz, who came to London in 2012 to work as a teacher at Turkish supplementary schools across London, shares his positive experience with Turkish second generation pupils.

> In that school [referring to one of Turkish supplementary schools in London], the Turkish students are very successful and also they do respect their teachers. Again in that school, parents have got close relationship with each other regarding their children's education. I would not say that the parents are all university graduates, but the atmosphere in the school suggests that they are quite engaged in their children's learning. They talk to each other about the importance of education that their children get from the supplementary school. Their children have private tuition in other subjects such as English and Maths.

Yilmaz makes a connection between the attitudes of Turkish second generation pupils' parents and their impact on these pupils' behaviour and educational outcome. He suggests that awareness of the importance of education is one of the key factors to greater success for Turkish speaking students.

Therefore, it is necessary for the school to work closely with the parents of Turkish speaking pupils in order to tackle underachievement.

5.3 BECOMING MORE 'BRITISH'

Serdar, a third generation Turkish Cypriot who is also a British university graduate, highlights a possible reason why Turkish Cypriots are better integrated into British society.

> I think [Turkish] Cypriots are better integrated into English and western society than a lot of Turks from Turkey. [...]Turks like to stick to their own communities; Cypriots have more western influences in Cyprus which they bring over here as well, not to mention how close they are to Greeks which also must influence our behaviour.

Ahmet, on the other hand, attributes the lack of integration to the length of time that the three Turkish speaking communities have spent in the UK. He also suggests that the Turkish-speaking community identifies itself as Turkish, which implies they do not feel that they are a part of the host community.

> The fact that Turkish Cypriots migrated to the UK before Turks and Turkish Kurds means that they were able to adapt better to British culture. Their knowledge of Turkish language and culture is limited, but when you ask them where they are from and where they belong to, they tell me that they are Turkish Cypriots and they identify themselves as Turks. This is the situation for the second and third generation.

Being able to speak the host language is one of the key factors which enables successful cultural integration. Ahmet points out that of the three groups, Turkish Kurds struggle the most with this when learning English is concerned.

> Last year I worked in North London School and there were some Turkish Kurds there. As they came to Britain relatively recently compared to Turkish Cypriots and Turks, the second generation Turkish Kurds were often small children, but I got the impression that their socio-economic situation was very poor. Their English was not good but their Turkish was alright. They experience problems at school because they cannot speak English. Their parents want their children to learn Turkish.

When Aylin (32), a self-employed Turkish teacher in London, came to the UK, she did not know much English and had problems with communicating with the host community. I worked with her in the same Turkish school in North London and witnessed the difficulties she has faced since she arrived in the UK.

> I think Turkish immigrants' integration depends on where they live in London. For example, in areas of North London such as Stoke Newington, Hackney, Edmonton Green and Enfield, Turkish speaking immigrants live in communities. These people are not exposed to British culture much there since everything is in Turkish: Supermarkets, restaurants, butchers, florists, accountants, solicitors, laundrettes and even some buses are driven by Turks. They do not have much interaction with the host culture. The only thing they know is limited to knowledge of British holidays: Easter and Christmas. Most Turkish speaking immigrants who do not have a formal education in Turkey have come to the UK to make money so they do not see it as necessary to learn the language or the culture. They live in 'ghettos' which provide them with a more secure and relaxed environment psychologically. They socialise in their own community where they do not feel alone. But this way of life does not give them the opportunity to communicate with the host culture.

5.4 FUTURE MIGRATION

In the example below, Aylin describes her experiences in Turkey which motivated her to immigrate to the UK.

> I decided to move to London in 2010 when I realised that I was unable to enjoy my life in Turkey. There, I had to work long hours with a very small amount of money at a private school where I often met with abuse because they did not regard me as being a proper Muslim. As an unmarried woman of 30, I was disrespected.

Aylin's story is by no means an isolated one. Many women face similar pressures from within Turkish society, particularly in regards to their dress and expected behaviour. She states: "I would say Turkish and Turkish Kurds are quite conservative. When they immigrate to the UK, they bring their patriarchal culture as well. The idea is that male figures are expected to provide food and mothers look after the children." Judging by current rates of immigration and the ongoing 'push'

factors driving it, there is every reason to assert that Turks will continue to arrive in the UK in equal or perhaps even larger numbers in the coming years. The fact that there is a growing Turkish-speaking community already living in London and some other parts of Britain provides a further 'pull' factor, as the migrants have friends and family to welcome them and help them integrate into the UK Turkish diaspora.

5.5 CONCLUSION

What these interviews show is that there are clearly-defined problems that face the three Turkish groups and that there is not one single reason for these problems. The accounts also offer hope insofar as they see the solutions largely coming from within the Turkish communities themselves. No study can hope to present the voice of every single part of a large and diverse community, but they give a snapshot of what is going on at 'ground level', i.e, the Turkish language schools and other points where Turks are exposed to the education system.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this dissertation was to find out why Turkish speaking second generation pupils underachieve at school and to suggest possible solutions to tackle this problem. Studies on this topic have previously been conducted and some proposals have been made, as discussed in Chapter Four. In this last section I will be proposing my own solutions. Writing this thesis has been a positive challenge through which I have personally learned much. Having lived for almost 25 years of my life in Turkey, I have been exposed to cultural stereotypes about Kurdish people, but undertaking the research for this thesis helped me to dispel such prejudices. It has also brought me closer to the Turkish-speaking community and enabled me to appreciate and gain perspectives on some of the everyday challenges facing young people in the British education system, an area in which I am also employed. I am to take some of the conclusions of my research and apply them practically in my present and future teaching work.

There is not a quick solution to the problem of underachievement but there are long term strategies which could be applied to bring about positive outcome. The successful integration of the Turks, Turkish Kurds and indeed Turks from Cyprus can only be achieved through a combined effort from all the stakeholders: the schools, teachers, local authorities, parents and the communities themselves. As I have shown, steps have already been taken by all parties, but more still needs to be done, particularly in integrating the newest immigrant groups. This remains a challenge, not least because Britain's economic situation is putting pressure on the provision of services. The relatively small number of Kurdish and Turkish immigrants reduces their voice when fighting for scarce resources. In the short term, the solution must come from the communities themselves. The Turkish and Turkish Cypriot governments can, and do already play a role in bridging this gap.

However, ultimately change must come from within. Turkish men (and women) must accept that women have a right to an education. Of course, schools and authorities play a role in this process. Having more teachers with an understanding of both the British education system and Turkish culture and language can make an enormous difference too. A way forward for the education of Turkish-speaking pupils can only be achieved through cooperation between the government, Local Education Authorities, schools and the communities themselves. The communities have been debating these issues and it is recommended that their suggestions should be implemented with the support of mainstream providers.

The desired change in attitudes does not only concern gender, however. As discussed, the idea for Turkish schools came largely from within the Turkish-speaking communities themselves as a means of fighting estrangement from their native culture as well as tackling educational underachievement. Such initiatives must continue, especially in the face of budget cuts due to the economic recession. Such communities, especially one with a relatively low profile in wider society, cannot rely on assistance from local councils or central government. The voluntary sector must take a leading role to ensure that Turkish-speaking young people do not 'fall between the cracks' and disengage with the general education system.

The Turkish-speaking communities also need to promote themselves more effectively. All-too-often, the negative aspects prevail in the media, such as honour killings, gang culture, and religious extremism. Yet there are Turks who have achieved much in British society, as I have shown. But their stories are not well known in the Turkish communities, let alone in the wider society. This could be remedied somewhat by greater interaction between these de facto role models and the communities they have come from. Often, when a Turk becomes prosperous, they will distance themselves from their origins, almost as though they are ashamed. But were these more prosperous Turks and Turkish Cypriots to repay the communities that nourished them when they first arrived, then this could play a significant part in lifting the whole community and benefitting it.

Language schools, besides providing the necessary language support, have proved to be a successful means of engaging Turkish students with education as well as giving them pride in their culture. But today, almost all of these schools are in London. While most of Britain's Turks live in London, this does disadvantage Turks in other parts of Britain, and these schools need to be rolled out nationwide if their success is to be replicated outside of the capital. The best way to do this is for those involved in the successful London schools to visit other parts of the country where there are Turkish people and encourage them to set up schools. There are existing networks of schools in London, and these networks could easily be extended to the other major population centres of Britain where there is a need for Turkish-centred extra-curricular education.

On the other hand, the integration of Turkish speaking immigrants in mainstream education still needs to improve if their educational attainment is to improve. As Sinagatullin writes (2003, p. 2):

> The multicultural and the global must be incorporated within the overarching continuum of multicultural education. It is of little benefit to multiculturalize the educational process without providing a global context; it is equally useless to globalize education while ignoring a multicultural context. As an ideal harmony

> between the multicultural and the global will never be fully attained in the contemporary, changing world, the goals of multicultural education must be flexible enough to accommodate changes in society. The multicultural teacher will always be confronted with the objective of integrating the multicultural and the global. With each succeeding generation, we and our descendants will be required to work continually to address issues of diversity. This pleasant and difficult objective embodies great challenges and opportunities for curriculum makers and educators committed to multicultural, intercultural, international, and cross-cultural education.

So the integration of, and respect for, diversity need to be present in schools, curricula and educators. Park (1924 cited in Healey, 2012, p. 46) states "In a political system based on democracy, fairness, and impartial justice, all groups will eventually secure equal treatment under the law. In an industrial economy, people tend to be judged on rational grounds—that is, on the basis of their abilities and talents—and not by ethnicity or race". Most commentators agree that assimilation of Turkish speaking migrants is the key to a better society. In a perfect democratic and industrial society, assimilation would be an inevitable outcome. However, unfortunately, no such society yet exists and factors such as economic constraints and political trends make assimilation a challenging task for any government and society.

To leave one's home country to find a better life abroad is a dramatic and life-changing decision. Educational attainment among the Turkish-speaking people of Britain is still a comparatively rare and momentous event. The aim of all stakeholders (students, parents, educators and the government) must be to bring about long-lasting and permanent chances to the outcomes of Turks in the education system, and by so doing, make it commonplace.

From my own interviews I found that parents play a significant role in their children's education and that schools and parents need to cooperate to raise standards. Parents need to be more proactive in setting good examples for their children. First generation parents also need to come to terms with the fact that, unlike them, their children are native to the UK, which means that they tend to have different outlooks on life.

This dissertation has shown how the Turkish community benefits from lessons learned by other groups of migrants living in London. Likewise other communities can also learn from the Turkish experience. The 2011 London riots showed us how members of the Turkish and Kurdish communities came together to protect their neighbourhood from the looters. As West (August, 2011)[40] described "the most impressive of all was the way that the Turks and Kurds of Dalston and Green Lanes drove away looters". He adds that "British society could learn a lot from the Dalston Turks".

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[40] Source: http://blogs.telegraph.co.uk/news/edwest/100100256/

The solutions for the series of challenges facing the Turkish-speaking diasporas of London highlighted in this thesis are complex and by no means easy to implement. Researching this thesis has shown me this. I have discovered first of all that the problems facing the three distinct groups differ widely depending on economic and cultural factors. For example, the Cypriot-Turkish community is on the face of it the best integrated and most successful of the groups. This is not only because they have had the longest period of time to adjust, having been the first to arrive in Britain, but also because they possess cultural advantages relating to Cyprus' close ties with Britain. Mainland Turks, such as myself, have had a more mixed experience, largely because we are the least homogenous of the three groups. We have come to Britain for a variety of reasons: some as economic migrants, some for family reasons, and others as political 'refugees'. This group have also arrived in Britain at different times. Some came as early as the 1970s and 1980s, while others are still arriving today. There is therefore a big contrast between someone emigrating from Turkey in 1980 to someone coming today. In 1980 Turkey was in the midst of a military coup, and the priority for the migrant was merely to rebuild their life and survive in a peaceful country. Nowadays, Turkey is a prosperous, booming economy with a stable government, albeit increasingly religious. In some ways, the reasons for migrating today are the opposite of that in the 1980s. Back then, the military government persecuted those who sought a religious education. Consequently, some of those who sought a greater role of religion in the education of their children sought refuge in other countries. But today, those who seek a secular education in Turkey are increasingly being marginalised due to the policies of the AKP government, so there is an incentive to seek a life abroad in countries such as the UK. This has left us with a diaspora often just as split as in Turkey itself, with views ranging from ultra-secular to deeply religious. This division has to be understood by all stakeholders when dealing with educational outcomes in these communities.

The third distinct language/cultural group is of course that of the Kurds. As discussed, they come with their own distinct set of challenges. Although some have arrived as economic migrants, the majority came (and still come) to Britain as political refugees, but if we are to successfully integrate these communities into mainstream British society, radical moves need to be made.

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APPENDIX

Interview I

Interviewed by Fatma Narman Guerry Date: 22/07/2012

Interviewee Sevil Kahraman Place: Edmonton Nightingale Turkish School

An interview with a North London Turkish school deputy head on the success and failure of ethnically Turkish pupils

Fatma: *Why did you decide to set up the school?*

Sevilay: The school was founded in 2006. At that time there were not many Turkish schools in the area in London (Edmonton). We decided to set up this school because we would like our children to learn their ancestors' language and culture. We would not like them to forget their origins. Learning their parents' language gives them lots of benefits one of which is helpful for their GCSE exams. They can now take Turkish GCSE. This school prepares our children for the exams as well (A levels and GCSEs in Turkish) and also the certificate they receive from our school are recognised by the universities in the UK. Apart from English which they automatically learn at the mainstream schools anyway, learning a second language helps students find jobs related to Turkish language such as interpreter, translator so and so forth.

Our school also provides students with folk dance courses as well as teaching them how to play traditional Turkish instruments. In this way, students are not only learning a second language but also they learn new skills.

Fatma: *What challenges did you face when setting up the school?*

Sevilay: When we went ahead with the idea of founding the school, we had difficult days in terms of economical situation that we would not expect to happen. We had to go and knock on Turkish shops, businessmen's doors and ask for Money. We as the founders try to use our contacts, our relatives and our friends to find students for our school. We organised a ball to collect some money by selling tickets for the ball. Our first donation was £1000 which does not seem to be much at all, but at that time it helped a lot. We also produced brochures/adverts and distributed them to British school around our school. First year of founding our school, we had our children, our relatives' children/grandchildren attending the school. Then other Turkish people living in the same area heard about the school with the Word of mouth etc.

Fatma: *Did you receive any assistance from the local council or the government?*

Sevilay: Unfortunately we could not receive any money as our school was not considered as a charity organisation. In order to be a charity organisation we needed a warrantor, but we did not any.

Fatma: *How do you feel the school make difference to their education?*

Students attending our school acquire a second language. Also students from different parts of Turkey or Cyprus are exposed to different accent which is not proper Istanbul Turkish. Here at our school, students have a chance to learn Istanbul Turkish which is the correct one. They learn how to read and write in Turkish as well as speaking.

Fatma: *Do you receive anything from Turkish communities or/and Turkish Cypriots?*

Sevilay: First years of founding the school, we had quite a lot of students in the area. This could be because we were the only school in that area. However, later when others founded new Turkish school, we lost some of our students. There is a competition among Turkish schools unfortunately. Turkish schools here work independently.

Fatma: *Would you like to see more assistance being offered by council?*

Sevilay: Yes we would. Especially in terms of rent, we would like to have some money from the council.

Fatma: *What would you like to achieve with the school in the future?*

There are short term and long term goals for us. Short term goals are having our students win poem competitions which are organised among other Turkish schools in London so that we would have our voice heard and get more students signed up, and having our students achieve good grades in A levels and GCSEs. If we are talking about long term goals I can describe them as having our students acquire a second language, learning their parents and therefore their original culture, building long-lasting relations with Turkey and Cyprus.

Fatma: *What challenges students coming to your school are facing in terms of education?*

Sevilay: They learn English at school so their English becomes their native tongue. Therefore, our teachers and us as founders use Turkish to communicate at the school even at break times so that students would learn more Turkish. We also encourage parents to use Turkish at home. However, although many both parents or one of the parent know Turkish, they do not speak it at home. They prefer to use English. This might be because their Turkish is not good enough to communicate or they basically cannot be bothered to explain words in Turkish when they are asked to translate by their children. This is a big problem for our education. Having 2 hours a week of Turkish is not enough for students to learn a language which is very different from English. Unfortunately we

cannot educate parents for this reason, the education that our students get in this school is insufficient as it is not supported by the parents at home.

Fatma: *Do you think the school has still been popular among Turkish/Cypriot community?*

Sevilay: I think our school used to be more popular. Nowadays we are experiencing a decrease in terms of students' intake. There are not many students who would like to enroll with our school. Also, there have been several changes to the administrative body. Some of the founders left the school for private reasons, some left because there were some disagreements among us. Some of us did not take this job seriously so we lost lots of students which is a shame.

Fatma: *Are the students coming to your school decreasing? If so does that mean the children are becoming more distant from their culture or are they doing better that they do not need to?*

Sevilay: Yes there is a decrease in the school. I do not think that this decrease is due to the fact that students know Turkish so they do not need us. In my opinion, we as administrative board could not do our job at the best, but also parents did not encourage their children to continue to Turkish school. Parents see this place as an activity centre rather than an educational association. Parents send their children so that they can have some peace at home. They consider these three hours that their children spend here in our school as an activity time.

Fatma: *Do you think you are doing enough to help the Turkish students?*

Sevilay: We are trying to do as much as we can, but it is very difficult to teach students Turkish language and culture/traditions. This is because they live in a foreign country where they have foreign friends at school. They do not have much contact with Turkish language. In terms of culture, they do not learn traditions much. The only thing they can observe is weddings. Religious holidays such as Ramadan is celebrated but it is not the same that you would celebrate in Turkey. They do not have holidays on those days so their concept of holidays are Christmas and Easter. In this school, we are giving great importance to our National festivals and we celebrate them as much as we can. Our teachers prepare presentations to talk about the importance of that day and why we celebrate. I do not find these events sufficient for the fact that children do not show respect to these important festivals.

Fatma: *Do you think the parents should be doing more for their kids to integrate more?*

Sevilay: Parents are ignorant unfortunately that is why our help is limited. During our first years, we opened adult English courses, handcraft courses and folk dance in order to keep parents interested so that they would bring their children. Nevertheless, parents are expecting their children to speak Turkish fluently in one academic year and if they do not achieve this then they try to question the system of the school. I do not think this is a fair approach towards us because you

cannot expect someone to acquire a language if this person uses that target language only 1 or 2 hours a week. Most of the parents do not take this language teaching process seriously. Especially parents who were born in the UK, it is quite difficult for their children to speak Turkish as parents themselves do not speak Turkish fluently. Despite this fact, I think parents should try and speak a bit Turkish at home and I am sure that they will see how much impact they do on their children's language ability. Children learn fast so we should take advantage of this. They automatically learn British culture from their environment, for this reason, parents should cooperate more with the school and work hard to have our children learn Turkish language and culture. Like in mainstream Turkish school in Turkey and Cyprus, we have our national anthem sung and youth oath taken before we start lesson. You need to respect, stand still and sing your national anthem. What happens every week is that parents bring their children late so they sometimes interrupt the national anthem or they talk during singing it. Parents are examples to children so even though we warn children to remain where they are and sing respectfully, they do not listen. Therefore, again there are a lot for parents to improve to help their children more.

Fatma: *Is it more important for these parents to send their children to Turkish schools and learn their parents' culture or to send them mainstream after school clubs to improve their core subjects?*

Sevilay: I think Turkish parents should send their children to Turkish so that their children can learn the language and a bit of Turkish culture through events and dances etc. I cannot undervalue of how important children's core subjects or after school activities at mainstream school. Our students live in the UK and in order to get a job in this country you need to have your basic GCSEs and A Levels etc. But if they plan things carefully then I am sure they will find enough time to send their children to Turkish schools. Children should be reminded of their origins, where they come from so that they do the same to their children.

Fatma: *What do you think about the future of this second generation of children?*

Despite the difficulties we are facing, I am quite positive about our future. 20-30 years ago there were not any Turkish school in London at all. But now there are more than 15 across London so Turkish children have a good chance to enroll one of them. Educating second generation is crucial because they were not born in Turkey or Cyprus therefore, they do not have a Turkish background which would help them maintain their knowledge of the language and culture. Second generation should learn as much as they can and teach their language and culture to their children. I am hoping that Turkish people will keep sending their children to Turkish schools and we will not lose our identity.

Interview II

Interviewed by Fatma Narman Guerry
Date: 12/09/2012

Interviewee: Aylin Place: Bromley

Here is the interview with a young colleague of mine, Aylin (32) who is working as a self-employed Turkish teacher in London. I worked with her in the same Turkish school in North London and witnessed the difficulties she has faced since she arrived in the UK.

Fatma: *What motivated you to come to the UK?*
Aylin: Better life style, more job opportunities/open a business and independency as a single woman
Fatma: *What challenges did you face before, and what challenges do you still face in your daily life here?*
Aylin: Finding a job and disrespect being a single woman with my age (30-31)
Fatma: *What experience have you had?*
Aylin: I couldn't find a job at a public school as I am not a "proper" Muslim woman. I had to work late hours with a very small amount of money in a private school where I used to get abused.
Fatma: *What were your hopes before coming to the UK? And were your expectations met?*
Aylin: Finding a job and yes.
Fatma: *What impact has the current economic situation in the UK had on your life?*
Aylin: It is more difficult finding a permanent full time job as used to be. I can only find part-time and temporary positions which are still alright. I can still afford my expenses. But there is no guarantee to keep up with the job. That is still not a problem as I am a self employed teacher and always there are jobs around.
Fatma: *What relations have you establish with the host community?*
Aylin: I have opened my own business. I have lots of students and potential customers. My partner is English. I have a lot of friends and lovely neighbours.
Fatma*: What barriers have you encountered to your progress and integration into British society?*
Aylin: I couldn't speak perfect English when I first moved to the UK. But as I interact with people had no problem so far.
Fatma: *What did you find most difficult to get used to in the UK?*
Aylin: Using public transport.

Fatma: *How did you think your children cope with the cultural and economical challenges?*
Aylin: I think if I was a good parent they would have no problem integrating to the community.
Fatma: *Would you go back to your home country if you did not find what you were looking for in the UK?*
Aylin: I don't think that I would unless I am forced to.
Fatma: *What do you think about the cultural integration of Turkish speaking community?*
Aylin: I think Turkish immigrants' integration depends on where they live in London. For example, areas of North London such as Stoke Newington, Hackney, Edmonton Green and Enfield, Turkish speaking immigrants live in communities. These people are not exposed to British culture much there since everything is in Turkish: Supermarkets, restaurants, butchery, florists, accountants, solicitors, laundrette and even bus drivers. They do not have much interaction with the host culture. The only thing they know is limited to holidays which affect them directly. Most Turkish speaking immigrants who do not have a formal education in Turkey have come to the UK to make money so they do not see it necessary to learn the language or the culture. They live in ghettos which provide them with a more secure and relaxed environment psychologically. They socialise in their own community where they do not feel alone. But this way of life does not give them the opportunity to communicate with the host culture. Turkish people have bias against British culture. I would say Turkish and Turkish Kurds are quite conservative. When they migrate to here, they bring their patriarchal culture as well. The idea is that male figures are expected to provide food and mothers look after the children.

Interview III

Interviewed by Fatma Narman Guerry Date: 28/09/2012

Interviewee Ahmet Uysal Place: Edmonton Green

This interview was conducted with Ahmet Uysal, who is a Social Sciences teacher at a Turkish school in Istanbul. Ahmet came to London to teacher Turkish at supplementary school across London.

Fatma: *What is the most important factor in a second generation Turkish pupil's education?*
Ahmet: First of all, the education level of parents is important. I mean, it is important that parents should offer activities which will help their children improve and both their English and Turkish language ability. For example, reading culture. At home, (if the parents are both Turkish) they

speak Turkish, but the usage lacks depth. I would understand that for little ones, they cannot understand the complex language, but unfortunately this continues like that. It not only Turkish, but these children [second generation Turkish speaking migrant children] are incapable of acquainting British culture either. To make it short, it is significant that parents should provide an intellectual environment for their kids. By the way, you would like me to comment on the aspect of Turkish, right?

Fatma: *Yes, and also please comment on how your Turkish students cope with studying in their mainstream school. Since the subject of my thesis is the challenges that face second generation Turkish speaking migrant children in the education system, I am analysing this community in three groups of Turks, Turkish Kurds and Turkish Cypriots.*

Ahmet: I am also writing a thesis on Turkish Immigration, I also divided them into three groups

Fatma: *Do you teach Turkish Cypriots?*

Ahmet: Yes I do. The fact that Turkish Cypriots migrated to the UK before Turks and Turkish Kurds and therefore they adapted to the British culture more, and their knowledge of Turkish language and culture is limited, but when you ask them where they are from and where they belong to, they tell me that they are Turkish Cypriots and they identify themselves as Turks. This is like this for the second and third generation. As you know, identity is formed through three factors: history, geography and religion. Since Turkish Cypriots are relatively more secular and more liberal in terms of culture than Turks and Turkish Kurds, this reflects on their language as well. For example, a Turkish or Turkish Kurd student comes to lesson with a mind which is influenced by his or her parents' religious, political and cultural knowledge in Turkish. When I tell my students that I am a history teacher in Turkey, the ones who study at secondary school in British mainstream schools, they ask questions related to things they learn at school do not correspond to things they learn at home from their parents. The parents shape the historical awareness of their children (who are second generation Turkish children). All the Turkish pupils that I have met so far think that their teachers do not tell the facts about history. As a result, these pupils' cultural background (which is shaped by their parents' historical knowledge that they gained in Turkey) influences their educational life. I do not know how Turkish Kurds behave normally, but the ones I met through supplementary Turkish schools prefer to remain neutral about their identity and since they are coming to these Turkish schools to learn Turkish, I guess these pupils come from families who are more moderate about the division between Turks and Turkish Kurds. I had a Kurdish Turk student who was forced to come to learn Turkish. She used to emphasise on her Kurdish identity and repeat things that she got from her environment such as they were ignored in Turkey and that was so

unfair. But when I talked to her and acknowledged her thoughts she stopped talking about the injustice that her parents experienced in Turkey and started to be friendly with me. She advised me on some Kurdish songs and I asked her questions about Kurdish language. Last year I worked in North London and there were some Kurdish Turks in the school I worked. As they came to Britain relatively recently than Turkish Cypriots and Turks, the second generation Kurdish Turks were little kids, but I got the impression that their socio-economic situation was very poor. Their English was not good but their Turkish was alright. They experience problems at school because they cannot speak English. Their parents want their children to learn Turkish.

Fatma: So you said that Turkish Kurds socio-economic situation is poor. What makes you say that?

Ahmet: They feel more free in the UK as they can live without any pressure from the state. They have got their own fellowship organisations. There is a focus on their Kurdishness, but I do not think that there is any investigation on how this affects their willingness to learn their language. I believe that there is an emphasis on the symbolic Kurdish awareness. There are even some Kurds who are disturbed by being categorised under the Turkish speaking community. However, I have seen very few Kurdish students who were born here and speak Kurdish. Like in Turkey.

Fatma: *Yes, here Kurdish people are counted under Turkish speaking community.*

Ahmet: Of course, what I said is not based on scientific data, I do not know how accurate it is, but there are some estimated figures about the population of Turkish Kurds
not a scientific truth.

Fatma: *Ok. Also, what do you think about the expectation of the teachers of Turkish speaking pupils in terms of their educational attainment?*

Ahmet: I believe that there is low expectation towards the Turkish speaking pupils. That was the case in the British school that I worked last year, but teachers were right in this matter. The teacher were always complaining about the indifference of the parents.

Fatma: *So, what do you say about the popular culture that affects Turkish speaking second generation pupils in the UK?*

Ahmet: Just like in Turkey, here the Turkish and Kurdish second generation pupils do not read books, but it is also very interesting that they know everything about the popular culture in Turkey. So, they watch anything on Turkish channels on television and this knowledge reflects on their speeches as well. This is not the same for Turkish Cypriot pupils. They usualy watch British channels. So, when I ask my Turkish and Turkish Kurd students about cbbc (channel for small children), they do not know.

Fatma: *Oh very interesting.*

Ahmet: But Turkish Cypriot children know about these programmes, and they grew up with watching them. But second generation Turkish children watch children channels of Turkish television.

Fatma: *How do you think the type of language they use in those channels affect their academic success at school?*

Ahmet: In terms of their academic attainment, the language used in those channels do not bring any benefit. However, I have got couple of students (Turkish students from mainland Turkey) whose parents are very interested in their children's education. Their Turkish is very good. Their English must be good since their marks at mainstream school are also good. So, watching Turkish channels contributes towards their adacemic success. They ask such interesting questions and comment on things in such an interesting way that I think that only pupils who read in both languages would be like that.

Fatma: *What do you think about Turkish GCSEs and A Levels?*

Ahmet: Some pupils are working hard and they are very interested, but some are not even coming to lessons and they do not do their homework that I give. I think this attitude comes from parents.

Fatma: *Do you think the parents are pushing their children to work hard?*

Ahmet: Most parents are not interested in their children's learning. They do not have any worry whether their children would go to university or not. You know in Turkey, parents want their children to succeed and go to university. Here this is not the case.

Fatma: *I wonder how they think that their children will find a job without education.*

Ahmet: I mean here these first generation migrants came to the UK as poor and now they make some money so they would be satisfied if their children had a job where they make some money. One of my students told me that he would like to go to the university, but if not he will be a barber at his dad's shop anyway. I mean there is not such a worry to study. He probably will be a barber in the end.

Fatma: *That's quite interesting. So it is from father to son.*

Ahmet: The interesting thing is that this is not like that in Turkish Cypriots' case. So, their English and living standards are much better than the Turks and Turkish Kurds. But if I talk generally, I would not say that all Turkish Cypriots very enthusiastic about getting well-paid jobs like doctors or journalists. Generally speaking, Turkish second generation pupils do not worry much about their future because they know that even if they are not successful at school, they will still survive in life. I believe they would make more money. I think this has to do with their self-sufficience.

Interview IV

Interviewed by Fatma Narman Guerry Date: 28/09/2012

Interviewee Yilmaz Akdal Place: Edmonton Green

This interview is with another Turkish teacher who was teaching English as a foreign language in a Turkish school in Istanbul. Yilmaz came to London to teacher Turkish at supplementary school across London.

Fatma: *What is the attitude of second generation Turkish pupils' towards Turkish supplementary schools in the UK?*

Yilmaz: As you know, in this country, most Turkish speaking pupils are pressured to go to Turkish supplementary schools by their parents. Some of the pupils think that they know enough Turkish or that learning Turkish is unnecessary when English is spoken around the world. In my opinion, in theory parents are interested in their children's education. Some parents see supplementary schools where socialising take place. I said 'in theory' because if they want their children to learn Turkish then why do they speak them in English at home? But there are some other parents who are very engaged with their children's education, and these parents want them to learn their mothers tongue. This is what I concluded from my students' parents. Apart from this, I have got students from all three ethnicities of Turkish speaking community. Especially, one of my female students is very interested and tries hard to be successful. She asks me to bring a book to read every week in order to learn more. I also teach GCSE and A Level Turkish in another supplementary school. In that school, the Turkish students are very successful and also they do respect their teachers. Again in that school, parents have got close relationship with each other regarding their children's education. I would not say that the parents are all university graduates, but the atmosphere in the school suggests that they are quite engaged in their children's learning. They talk to each other about the importance of education that their children get from the supplementary school. Their children have private tuition in other subjects such as English and Maths.

Fatma: *Do you think they use correct English? Are they able to express themselves in English?*

Yilmaz: Yes. They can speak English very well. In fact, they start in Turkish then switch to English when they are stuck. The students that I teach GCSE and A Levels take the lessons seirously and attend the school regularly. Of course, here, parents attitute is very important.

Fatma: *Alright. Are all these successful students Turkish Cypriots, Turks or Turkish Kurds?*

Yilmaz: To be honest with you, I only go to one school in North London where most students are Turkish Cypriot second generation. The successful ones are Turkish second generation pupils generally. I do not think that Turkish Cypriots are successful in learning Turkish. I observed that Turkish Cypriots are more successful in English than Turkish pupils and Turkish Kurd pupils. Turkish Cypriots' economic level is much better than those two groups and they are more integrated into the British society. As a result, they work at a higher position in state jobs.

Interview V

Interviewed by Fatma Narman Guerry Date: 21/09/2012

Interviewee Hüseyin Bozalanlar Place: Edmonton Green

This interview is with Mr Hüseyin Bozalanlar, who is a Turkish Cypriot teacher at a primary school in Northern Cyprus. Hüseyin came to London to teacher Turkish at supplementary school across London.

Fatma: *Could you please comment on the attitude of second generation Turkish pupils towards Turkish supplementary schools in the UK.*

Hüseyin: Turkish speaking pupils are generally reluctant towards learning and it is very difficult to motivate them. The fact that Turkish supplementary schools are either at weekends or in the evening after mainstream school causes that unwillingness. In addition to this, Turkish second generation also see these supplementary schools as a place for meeting with their friends and having fun with them. Anyway most of these children are pressured to attend the supplementary school by their parents. For this reason, they do everything to be excluded from the school. All these create unenthusiastic and undisciplined youth/children that do not do their homework. In my opinion, children's underachievement can be attributed to parents' working long hours and not being able to take care of their children who take this opportunity to waste their time and energy on messing around instead of studying. A proper guidance and care would raise these children's achievement. Unfortunately, here in the UK, we have Turkish second generation pupils who think that work is ready for them when they finish school and so they do not care about getting good grades at school.

Interview VI

Interviewed by Fatma Narman Guerry Date: 06/09/2013

Interviewee Serdar Mustafa Place: Enfield

Fatma: *Can you tell me what is the biggest problem that these Turkish speaking children face in the education system? What have you experienced as a second generation Turkish speaking migrant?*

Serdar: If I'm honest I don't think I ever experienced any problems at school / uni that resulted from being or speaking Turkish.

Fatma: *Were you from Northern Cyprus?*

Serdar: Yeah

But born here...

Fatma: *Because I found that Turkish Cypriots do better than Turks or Turkish Kurds*

I mean this is based on my readings and I just wanted to confirm this with some of second generation Cypriots

Serdar: I think one of the biggest influences is what your parents are like at home. My mum was born here so I had no problem with English, I guess if your parents spoke Turkish at home it might make it more difficult.

Fatma: *Yes, language problem*

Serdar: Also I think Cypriots are better integrated into English / western society than a lot of Turks from Turkey.

Fatma: *Why do you think that is?*

Serdar: Turks like to stick to their own communities; Cypriots have more western influences in Cyprus which they bring over here as well, not to mention how close they are to Greeks which also must influence our behaviour.